

H. Gr.

1408

h

EX
P·G
LIBRIS



P. 229

6/10/74

8N714

1104FC

275-

11/10/74

Blackmer 1251

This work takes the form of letters
addressed to Lord John Russell,
Earl Grey, Sir John Parkington and
Sir Henry Ward during their
administration in the Ionian
Islands.

H. gr. 1408 h

07/92/493

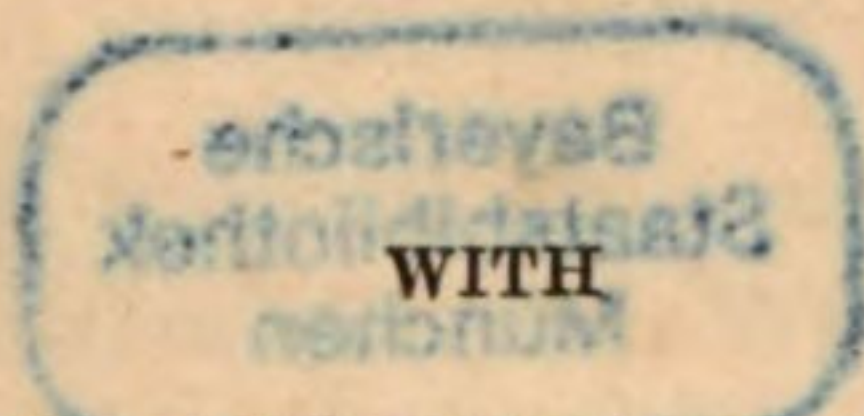
USQUE ADEO?

OR,

WHAT MAY BE SAID FOR THE IONIAN PEOPLE;

BEING

LETTERS ADDRESSED TO
LORD JOHN RUSSELL, EARL GREY, SIR JOHN
PAKINGTON, AND SIR HENRY WARD,
DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LATTER GENTLEMAN IN
THE IONIAN ISLANDS.



INTRODUCTORY REMARKS,

Addressed to the Members of the House of Commons.

BY AN IONIAN.

[Lapanicolas (G D)]

Ζεῦ Πάτερ, ἡ πολλῶν τε κακῶν λύσεως ἅπαντας
Ἡ πᾶσιν δείξαις οἷψ τῷ δαίμονι χρῶνται.

PYTHAGORAS.

LONDON:

SAUNDERS AND STANFORD, 6, CHARING CROSS.

1853.

USQUE AD EO?

CONTENTS

WHAT MAY BE SAID FOR THE

IONIAN PEOPLE;

Letter to Sir John Lubbock on the Possibilities of the

Letter addressed to

Letter written by Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S.

PARLINGTON, AND SIR HENRY WARR.

Letter to Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S.

Letter to Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

LETTERS TO SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, BART., F.R.S.

Letter to Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S.

BY AN IONIAN.

Letter to Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S.

Letter to Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S.

Letter to Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S.

Letter to Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S.

Letter to Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S.

Letter to Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S.

Letter to Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S.

Letter to Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
MÜNCHEN

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS	Page v
Letter to Sir John Pakington, on the Personalities of the Ionian Discussion	1
Letter to Sir John Pakington, on the Ionian Press and Sir H. Ward's Attempt to repress it	7
Letter to Sir H. Ward. The Accusations of Cruelty and Tyranny during his Administration	12
Letter to Earl Grey, Colonial Secretary, on what is called "The Vindication of Sir H. Ward's Acts"	23
Letter to the <i>Daily News</i> , in corroboration of the above, and Cephalonian Testimony to Cephalonian Wrongs, June 21, 1850	37
Letter to Lord John Russell, as Prime Minister, on the Right and Requirements of the Ionians; or, <i>To whom can the Ionians appeal?</i>	41
Letter to Lord John Russell. Remonstrance on behalf of the Ionian Legislative Assembly	47
Letter to Lord John Russell, on the Dilapidation of the Ionian Finances, and the Attempt of Sir H. Ward to destroy the Liberty of the Ionian Press... ..	60

Letter to Lord John Russell, on the Ionian Senate as
 Liberally Reformed by Sir H. Ward, and a True
 Definition of that Body 77

Letter to Sir H. Ward, on the Lengthened Misgovernment
 of the Ionians, and what is requisite to their Social
 and Political Advancement... .. 87

Letter to Sir H. Ward, on the Ionian Budget, how he
 managed it, and how the Ionian Finances are
 regulated 96

Letter to the *Daily News*. Sir H. Ward in 1849 an
 Imitator of the Arbitrary Acts of Sir Howard
 Douglas in 1840 105

Letter to Earl Grey, on the Absurd System under which
 the Ionians are compelled to Petition the Minister
 of the Protection 113

APPENDIX 119

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

As the subject of the Government of the Ionian Islands will be brought under the notice of the House of Commons in the present session by Mr. Hume, I have thought it not unadvisable, considering the almost general deficiency of any knowledge of the position of things in those Islands, or of the exact relation in which they stand towards Great Britain, to collect and publish the accompanying Letters, as the readiest means of furnishing the members of both Houses of the Legislature with adequate information on the subject.

The motion of Mr. Hume in 1853 will comprehend very nearly the same complaints, and might be couched in almost the same terms as the motions which that veteran advocate of liberty and just Government has made at different times, but particularly since Sir Henry Ward has ruled those Islands as Representative of Her Majesty. I am well convinced that want of knowledge can alone have led to the long continuance of misrule in those Islands,—a misrule, which has lived through the remonstrance of the Statesmen who drew up the Treaty by which the Islands were placed in the hands of Great Britain; which has survived the

regeneration of Greece, a reform in England, and two revolutions in France ; which, as administered by a Maitland, an Adams, a Douglas, and a Ward, has been in turns defended or excused by a Castle-reagh, a Stanley, a Russell, and a Grey.

In the good old times, thirty-five years ago, when Sir Thomas Maitland took possession of all the powers of the Ionian States, under pretence of giving them a Constitution, and made a liveried Senate and a sham Assembly jingle the bells of liberty, as they danced in the fetters of slavery—the English reader would naturally have expected, that what was done in England at that period, would have been done in the Ionian Islands ; and that peculation, extravagance, sinecures, and unquestioned tyranny, would have been the staple of the Government. All this was to be expected, and all this actually happened.

But it is not so, now-a-days. We are taught to look for reality in Government. The people in general, and not the people in place, are now supposed to be the subjects for consideration. When, therefore, an English Statesman is sent out to carry reforms into execution, we do not anticipate that he will merely play the same tune in a different key, and repeat not the errors merely, but the culpable faults and crimes of his predecessors.

Such, however, has unfortunately been the case in the instance of Sir Henry Ward. He assumed the Government of the Islands in June, 1849 ; since which period nothing but illegalities, executions, terror, disaffection, and political violence, have

characterized his Administration. He has so irritated the people of the largest of the Islands, Cephalonia, that, at one time, he dared not land amongst them.

To pacify, and deal gently with my countrymen, when irritated, was always the policy of even the most arbitrary Lord High Commissioners. Sir H. Ward has chosen to adopt a different course, that of ruling them with the strong hand, and striking them down with the sword of terror. The answer of the people whom he has thus scourged, literally as well as metaphorically, is an intensity of hatred, which, unless he be removed, may possibly flame out against any odds. In such a case, it must not be disguised, England will be regarded by civilized Europe, as bearing the same relation towards the Ionians that Turkey, up to 1821, bore towards Greece,—the tyrant and the oppressor. Such is the impression which the acts of Sir H. Ward have produced. I feel that, however painful the task, I am only discharging the obligation I have incurred to Englishmen during my long residence in England, by making known to them, how the good name and honour of their country have been sullied and cast down by the injudicious, unjust, tyrannical, and exasperating government of Sir H. Ward.

Sir Henry Ward has distinguished his Administration not less by an exercise of his civil than of his military authority. The powers vested in the Lord High Commissioner by the Ionian Constitution, are of an anomalous and extraordinary description, and, doubtless, were intended to suffice for any

emergencies arising from the relative position of the Ionian States and Great Britain, as a new Republic of Greeks, with a Constitution, under the Protection, and in the armed possession, of a great and distant nation, totally differing from them in habits, manners, and language. But these, so anomalous and extraordinary Powers, were surely not intended for every day's use; an earthquake and a volcano are not contrary to the laws of nature, but the seasons are carried on in their ordinary recurrence without them. Not such is the practice of Sir Henry Ward, who in his three years of Government has exhausted every thunder of his artillery, has exercised the power of banishment, outraged the quiet citizens of Corfu by domiciliary visits and the seizure of their papers, and has dissolved the first Freely-elected Assembly, after violently, abruptly, and repeatedly proroguing it during eighteen months. He has begun the same performance with the Tenth Assembly by new prorogations, although this Assembly was chosen under his own influence and illegal interference in the Elections throughout the Islands.

Nor is this all. The apparent mission of Sir H. Ward, the ostensible object of his assuming the office of Lord High Commissioner, was to carry out certain Reforms conceded by his predecessor, Lord Seaton, to the Ionians, in perfect good faith. But his first study on his arrival, was to render those Reforms nugatory in effect, and to restore, as far as possible, the artfully-constructed system of apparently justly-balanced powers, which virtually, in

their operation, throw the whole of the Administrative, Legislative, and Financial functions of the State into the hands of the Representative of the Protection.

In my Letters to Sir H. Ward, it has been my duty to animadvert strongly upon this point, while in those addressed by me to Lord John Russell, as prime Minister, my attention has been directed the more especially to the violation of all Constitutional principles, in the working of the so-called Constitution given to those Islands by Sir T. Maitland in 1817.

Aware, as he is, of the quick spirit of the Ionians, Sir H. Ward adopted a method in his attempt to manage the Assembly, which does credit to his dexterity as a Diplomatist, though it says little for his honesty as a Politician, or his acuteness as a Statesman. It was that of counterbalancing the influence of the Freely-elected Assembly, by making them appear litigious, disputatious, always carping at trifles, always ready to talk and not to act, always planning and never performing, always asking for Reforms and never putting those they have got into execution. He would thus represent them to their countrymen, to the British public, and to the great powers of Europe, as captious, and not sufficiently sober and discreet to be trusted out of the leading-strings provided for them by the Protection, in a tutelage of thirty-five years.

This object he has been enabled to carry out effectually, by bringing the first Freely-elected Assembly and the Senate into antagonism. The Assembly of *forty*, as elected now by the people, and the Senate

of *six*, as chosen by the Lord High Commissioner, having joint powers of Legislation, so artfully complicated by the Constitution, as to insure a dispute whenever they are jointly put into action at the will of any Lord High Commissioner; now, as the Assembly are only allowed a Session of three months in two years, and as the Senate have all the Power of Administration and even Legislation *pro tempore*, during the interval of twenty-one months out of twenty-four, it follows that, by proroguing the Assembly from time to time, and setting them to quarrel with each other during the brief periods of each intervening Session, the Lord High Commissioner can always manage that the Power of the Senate shall be vested in his own hands, or, in other words, in those of the Senate, who are so absolutely his creatures, as to exist alone for the purpose of registering his decrees.

All other forms and pretences of the Ionian Constitution have no other direction but this. The absolutism of the Lord High Commissioner, under the name of the Senate, is the whole scope and object, and ultimate tendency of every Article, through whatever process of apparent liberality and independence they may go meandering.

Nor must this Senate, as an Institution, be confounded with the House of Lords in the British Constitution, or the Senate of the United States of America. It has nothing of the same kind. It is a Cabinet Council, neither more nor less, but with the difference, that it waits to receive orders, and not to discuss or give advice. In this Cabinet Council

vests all the patronage of the State ; the Members receive each of them salaries,—now handsome, to say the least,—at one time monstrous, for so small a State ; their office lasts five years, and their being chosen again depends upon their subservience in carrying out the wishes of the Lord High Commissioner, and in applauding all he does.

The monstrous abuses, the petty ambitions, the political profligacy to which such a system must lead, it is unnecessary to point out. I have already sufficiently expatiated upon the melancholy results of our irresponsible Government in the Letters which follow. It may be sufficient, then, to state briefly that, though the revenue of the State is now three times what it was in 1816, when Great Britain assumed the Protection of these Islands, the finances of the country have come recently to a *dead lock* from further inability to pay the salaries, the expences, and the interest of the debt contracted towards the Protecting Government for the military contribution. I find, also, by the last speech of Sir H. Ward, that £40,000 have been added to this National Debt of ours, a luxury never known at any period of our history, either ancient or modern, previous to the British Protection.

The remarkable changes and shifting of Administration which have prevailed in England during the past three years, have rendered it almost impossible to obtain the serious attention of either Parliament or Government to any questions but those of paramount importance. This has been the more especially the case, as the Members of each fleeting Ministry,

knowing its tenure of office to be temporary, have been unwilling to meddle with the Foreign or Colonial appointments of their predecessors, considering that the order for recall might be but a few days preceding the date of a reappointment of the same functionary. Hence the "inconvenient" discussion of Ionian matters has been avoided; sometimes by there being "no House," at other times by delaying the delivery of Papers, on which a motion could be founded until the very last day of a Session; and again by complaints of "being taken by surprise," and the necessity, from newness in office, of time to obtain further information. On one occasion, however, a new Secretary for the Colonies ventured on this *terra incognita*, and to the astonishment of all practical men, Sir John Pakington proceeded to argue the unfitness of the Ionians in 1852 for self-Government, by adducing certain descriptions of the state of the Islands in 1800, by a Mr. Neranzi, who was sent clandestinely by the then Venetian aristocrats to the Emperor of Russia, armed with these representations, for the purpose of getting himself and party appointed Dictators of their country, with a Russian force to carry out their Decrees. It came out afterwards that Sir J. Pakington had plagiarised this portion of his speech from an unlucky pamphlet by an English Rector of the Ionian University, a Mr. George Ferguson Bowen, of Brazenose College, whose principal occupation, since he left the Islands, seems to have been the slandering those who first employed him, and the publishing gross attacks on those whose interests he betrayed. How worthy

such a person to be the medium of official instruction to Sir J. Pakington, I leave my readers to judge from the following passage respecting this Mr. Bowen, in the *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1853, page 74, where, in alluding to Lord Seaton having named this person Rector of the Ionian University, it is said:—

“This appears to have been one of the most objectionable appointments that ever was sanctioned by a Governor or Lord High Commissioner, in the wide field of his patronage; so unfit was the chosen candidate for the office and work for which he was intended, that six weeks after his arrival scarcely a difference of opinion existed on the matter. If it be true that his (Lord Seaton’s) *protégé* provoked the interference of the authorities responsible for his conduct, by his disobedience, and disgusted the Ionians by his *extravagant* and *uncontrollable* garrulity and absurdity, and thus deprived himself of the influence necessary for success in tuition; in short, if he were tried and found wanting, he should instantly have been set aside.”

Yes, he was about to be set aside, when Sir H. Ward arrived in Corfu, and made him his confidential friend and pamphleteer.

With such informants to temper the partisan pamphlets with which Sir H. Ward has supplied the archives of the Colonial-office, what wonder that Statesmen of the calibre of Sir J. Pakington, or Mr. F. Peel, are enabled to oppose and contradict the veteran Mr. Hume, with his thirty-five years’ experience of this question, on his suggesting the possibility that England is governing the Islands on a wrong system.

The ablest defence of British policy in the Islands that has yet appeared, is that by the writer of the

article in the *Edinburgh Review* above alluded to. Yet this well-informed writer studiously avoids any allusion to the irritation caused by Sir. H. Ward's tampering with Lord Seaton's reforms immediately on his arrival in Corfu, and above all, closes his eyes to the occurrences in Cephalonia,—a page of Sir H. Ward's Administration written in characters of blood upon our history.

This ought not to be. Sir H. Ward may regret this event, and tell his friends that he desires to obliterate its recollection;* but he still defends and justifies it,—still calumniating those who inculpated him for it; there still remains on record, in the public despatches, our gracious Protectress's approval through Lord Grey of his conduct in causing the Cephalonians to be flogged, a degradation of their blood never to be forgotten by men of the Greek race. I am informed myself that such approbation is to be regarded as merely the expression of a ministerial opinion, and I am told that Lord Aberdeen's appointment as prime Minister is tantamount to a withdrawal of such approbation; my attention, also, is called to the expression of his Lordship's disapprobation of Sir H. Ward's conduct, as implied in the following passage of his Lordship's speech in the famous Greek debate; where, alluding to the British fleet which blockaded Greece, his Lordship says:—

“I believe the only service attributed to that fleet is the case of the Ionian Islands. I believe it arrived there after the sup-

* See *Examiner* of December 25, 1852.

pression of the revolt ; therefore it took no part in that duty, and the only thing it had to do was to furnish Sir H. Ward with implements of punishment to be inflicted upon the rebels. It is possible, though Sir H. Ward's measures were severe, that they may have been justified ; it is possible that the mild government of a military Conservative might advantageously be succeeded by the stern rule of a Whig civilian (a laugh) ; but still I think it rather an odd requisition to make from a Commander of a flag-ship to supply a number of naval cats for the punishment of rebels. (Hear, hear, hear.) I thought the cat had generally been an article of domestic manufactory ; or that at least the military of each regiment had manufactured them for their own use. Sir Henry Ward, however, obtained from the Admiral's own ship supplies of this instrument for the infliction of punishment on the rebels ; and this is really all I find of the performance of the British fleet in the Ionian Islands."—*Debate, House of Lords, June 17, 1850.*

But these Constitutional refinements are too subtle for my countrymen, on whose back the lash fell with no delegated disgrace ; we require absolute evidence of disapprobation, in Sir H. Ward's being made to quit our country with the opprobrium he deserves,—a recall. The "checks and counter-checks," and all the chicanery of Pseudo-Constitutional Government, such as is allowed us, may then go on quietly ; and, in time, some one of the "seven sleepers," waking in another century, may, perhaps, find the Ionian Islands by that time acknowledged as sufficiently advanced under British Protection, to be competent to regulate their own internal affairs.

The writer of the article in the *Edinburgh Review*,—for whom I entertain the greatest respect,—in defending British policy in the Ionian Islands, is compelled to confine himself solely to the expediency

of the course pursued, while he carefully avoids the question of principle. There can be no doubt, and no one denies it, that the Ionian Government has been a system of false pretences from first to last. What wonder, then, that we have been constantly complaining? What respect can duplicity and insincerity claim to themselves, even should their course happen luckily to fall in the right path? What Statesmen, what men of honour, what Patriots, what Merchants, what middle class, worthy their vocation, can be trained up to serve their country under such a system? This system it is—as still carried on by Sir H. Ward—that I now, as I did formerly, remonstrate against on behalf of my countrymen. This it is that the House of Commons has, hitherto, been called upon to support.

How true this argument, there are ready means of judging from the last despatches on the Ionian Islands, No. 567, ordered by the House of Commons (1st of July, 1852). Here may be found what may almost be called an examination of Sir H. Ward before a public tribunal; for the “Returns” moved for by Mr. Hume were so framed as to assume the form of a “process” of inquiry into the main charges that had from time to time been adduced against the Lord High Commissioner. These charges are not answered, nor denied, but Sir. H. Ward pleads guilty by implication to the whole. He alleges, it is true, “extenuating circumstances;” an excuse which might avail in a single instance, but with all combined, shows him not to be a fit person to administer a Government.

We find recorded in these Despatches, that Sir H. Ward commenced in 1850 by selecting for one of his five Senators the President of the late Senate, who was not even a Member of the Legislature; thus at the very first working of a new Reformed Constitution, making every future President dependent on the Lord High Commissioner, and ensuring that the President will, for the future, during his office, be subservient to the will of that power which alone can reassume place and pension when his term of office expires. Moreover, the course adopted is one which deprives the Electors of the Constitutional expression of their opinion. "I chose," he says, "Signor Spiridione Focca, because he had shared with me the responsibility of the measures taken last autumn,"—*i. e.* of the measures in Cephalonia. For this the people had refused to re-elect Focca; but for this Sir H. Ward chose him for a Senator, though he was not a Member of the Legislature! Such is the sincerity of Sir H. Ward's *Constitutional* method of Administration.

The Members whom the Cephalonians returned, as an expression of the public indignation against the revolting acts committed in that Island, were the most violent of their class of politicians. This might justly have been anticipated. It is singular that, in the first portion of these Despatches, which is devoted to parliamentary history, we find "The Presidency of the legislative Assembly,"—an office uniting the speakership of the House of Commons with a seat in the Cabinet,—“unanimously offered to the Chevalier Mustoxidi,” upon whom the

Lord High Commissioner has lately put a public insult. Again, we find recorded the attempted exclusion from the Assembly of Dr. Braila, as “a naturalized foreigner,” who is now Sir H. Ward’s right-hand man, and President of the Assembly; while Dr. Zambelli, to whom afterwards, by way of beguiling him from the party of his country, every honour in the State was offered — Presidency, Senatorships, and Judgeship—is charged, at page 28, par. 12, with “furious speeches.”

While Sir H. Ward tells the Assembly that it “has not the right to alter the specific provisions of a Law by Resolution, and without the concurrence of the other Power” (p. 31, No. 13), he finds no objection, throughout, to the Senate abrogating Laws by its own absolute authority in *Atti di Governo* (even as regards Finance and Elections), passed during the compelled prorogations of the Assembly. But as Lord Grey decided against him on the Constitutional point raised between the Senate and the Assembly, as to the right of judging in disputed Elections, so I presume common sense will avail with the present Government to instruct him, that his Privy Council, the Senate, must not make Laws without his Parliament, the Assembly; otherwise, such a power of doing as he pleases may lead him into the error of Charles II., who thought it easier to collect ship-money on his own authority than to wait the granting of subsidies by a too inquiring House of Commons.

“The Lord High Commissioner has it in his

power, *at any time*, to direct by a simple order any Ionian citizen to quit the island in which he is residing, and to *take up his residence in some other part* of the Ionian States." (Parl. Papers, No. 567, p. 57, No. 21.) I use Sir H. Ward's own words,—a polite expression for ordering a man from his home to the Penitentiary. The form of this "simple order" is to send the police or soldiers, as the case may be, to escort the party on board a steam-boat, which sails off with him to some barren and rocky islet, where he is punished with solitary confinement, and exposed to every degradation. This is the method adopted by Sir Henry Ward to punish Newspaper Editors, and always without trial. This is the High Police. For opposition Electors, a simpler form of "vagrant act" is used, also without trial, but at the will of the Police authorities themselves.

I may point the attention of the British public to the petitions of Madame Doménégghini, relative to her husband's imprisonment. These will show that were it needful to liken Sir H. Ward's Government to that of Austria in her worst days, the case of a *Silvio Pellico* would not be wanting to fill up the catalogue of tyrannies.

The moderate opposition party which exists in the Isles,—but whose existence Sir H. Ward carefully keeps out of sight in his reports to the Government,—are constant in their remonstrance. But the Lord High Commissioner takes care to set down all opposition to his will and that of his Senate, as pro-

ceeding from violent men, *Rhizospasti*, or "Repealers," and combines all under one title, "*The enemies of the Protection!*"

It is well known that the result of the deplorable excesses which characterized the repression of the disturbance in Cephalonia, was a unanimous demand from all the Islands of a Law to render such proceedings impossible for the future. This Sir H. Ward has altogether concealed. The scandal and horror of his Cephalonian campaign was, however, general, and engendered a determination to resist and encumber his policy by every possible method, so that no course should be left for the Government at home but to recall him. But the limits of this Introduction would fail me to enumerate the much *tracasserie*, and the many manœuvres by which the restoration of Freedom of Election, and a direct Financial Administration, as intended by Lord Seaton, have been filched from the Ionians by Sir H. Ward.

The great complaint of my countrymen is the want of honesty, simplicity, and sincerity, continually exercised towards them. Thus, even when the apparently Constitutional step was taken, of placing ministerial power in the hands of the leading Liberals, it resulted in nothing more than a "political cheat." As soon as the men had been compromised, the promised measures were withheld, while the expected resignation of the right of domiciliary visits, and of banishment without trial at the will of the Lord High Commissioner, was made to depend on the Liberty of the Press being totally given up by the Representatives of the people.

What has followed this demand? An indignant refusal by the Assembly representing the wishes of the people. Of that refusal, another prorogation and a sharp lecture by the Lord High Commissioner, were the results; and more banishments, and finally two outrages, the one on the judges, the other on the most eminent man of our Islands, the Chevalier Mustoxidi,—an insult certainly fraught with more disgrace to those who have inflicted it, to the disgust of all, than to him who suffers it, with the sympathies of men of every party.

Most of these matters will sufficiently be explained in the letters that follow. I may be pardoned for availing myself of the present opportunity to speak a few words in my own regard.

For fifteen years I have exerted myself, from no other motive but patriotism, on behalf of my country; using my knowledge of England, and my acquaintance with the habits and feelings of Englishmen, to produce a proper impression in her behalf. What I have sacrificed,—from the time that I expedited, by a loan of £2,000, the arrival in our Islands of the first liberal Lord High Commissioner, a nobleman now no more,*—until the last assis-

* With a delicate sense of honour, which has found no parallel in a late instance, this nobleman resigned his high office the moment that the Ministry, who had sent him over, retired from Downing Street. Let me add to the praise of his memory that, during the short three years that he remained in the Islands, not only did he make the expenditure harmonise with the income, but, by economy and retrenchment, left at his departure the finances of the country flourishing, and a surplus in the Treasury of £126,550. He returned to England as poor as he went, taking leave of the

tance afforded by me to a man whom I thought a friend, by which another so-called friend was induced to make me figure as an "Outlaw," *—it would be unbecoming in me to say. He who, single-handed, undertakes such an arduous duty must expect much suffering as his reward. But I feel that I have a right thus publicly to express my regret, that circumstances attending a pecuniary difficulty, which, but for the insolvency of that friend, could never have happened, and which certainly had

Ionian Assembly, on the 25th of January, 1835, in the following words:—"From the moment of my arrival in this island, I have been united with you and with the people, not only by the intimate relations of my duty, but also by sentiments of attachment and gratitude; of attachment, for the excellent and distinguished qualities which prevail among all classes, and of gratitude, for the frank and candid assistance you have given me. To whatever office I may in future be called, be assured that, to the last day of my existence, I shall constantly maintain the most grateful and affectionate remembrance both of you and this people."

This departed nobleman and Sir H. Ward are the only civilians, both known as liberal Whigs, who have been sent over to govern us since the British Protectorate. Yet how great the contrast! The former was a reign of mildness, peace, content, and satisfaction; nay, I may say of glory, for errors were remedied, finances restored, and reforms originated. The latter—one hitherto unknown in those Islands since their creation—a reign of terror, tyranny and bloodshed!

* Upon the ludicrous but annoying formality of the English Law of debt, and anomalous position in which it places the victim to a greedy Lawyer's insatiate lust for Costs, I addressed a letter to the *Times*, which will be found in the Appendix A. That a foreigner, who possesses no landed property or estates, should be outlawed is more than absurd,—it is an evident spite, to say the least of it, of his political opponents.

only a personal reference to myself, should have been made to serve the purpose of a rancorous political hostility; and that, to defend Sir H. Ward's policy, it should have been necessary to abuse, before the public, the temporary embarrassment of "An Ionian." True it is that the party from which so offensive an attack originally emanated, was a hack-writer, renegade alike in religion, politics, and morals, scarcely respectable in literature, and a hireling assassin of other men's reputations, as having utterly lost his own (he was once a Roman Catholic priest); true, that having no sense of honour, he could recognize no principle but pay, nor imagine a Patriotism whose interference was not calculated at so much per line or column,—nevertheless, it is to be regretted that an evening journal, otherwise respectable, should have been made the channel of so polluted a stream of merely personal abuse; it is lamentable that its respectable Proprietors should have been exposed, under peril of the Law, to the necessity of recanting the scandalous falsehoods and calumnies of their renegade correspondent. Such attacks can serve not the cause of Sir H. Ward, expensive as their production may be to him, nor retard the coming justice to the Ionians. They are but the mistaken weapons of those feeble-minded but mischievous men, who think the struggles of a State can be fought out with the weapons of women; who imagine that they are serving great men, and advancing exalted principles, when they are using small means and low measures against their adversaries. I have had to deal with such men. Such

motives I have exposed in a pamphlet, entitled, "THE IONIAN ISLANDS; *what they have lost and suffered during the thirty-five years' Administration of the Lord High Commissioners sent to govern them, in reply to an anonymous Pamphlet, entitled, 'The Ionian Islands under British Protection.'*"

For that pamphlet, I presume, I am paying the penalty in the attacks made upon me by Sir H. Ward's agents in London, because I have ventured to stand forward in this country, fearlessly, on behalf of my oppressed brethren.

Time will show whether the Ionians of the present generation are a race disloyal to the Protection of Great Britain, as our enemies wish to represent us, or unmindful of the benefits it was intended we should have received from its wise Administration. That time is approaching. Already the cloud of war lowers opposite our shore. How soon the storm may break, or how far it may extend, it is not easy for the wisest to calculate. Let but our Gracious Protectress give the summons. She will soon find the Ionians ready to her call, although up to this day not one has been permitted to find his way into her army or navy. Then will England, perhaps, admit us to her service. She will then recognize our energies, our abilities, and our gratitude for benefits which Her Majesty has always been anxious to confer upon us, but has hitherto been prevented from so doing by the fatal influence that, to the prejudice of her own Colonies, as well as the free and Independent Ionian States, has invariably prevailed in her Colonial Office, and always overmastered even the liberal principles of such Warriors

and Statesmen as were sent amongst us to represent Her Majesty.

It has become customary, in recent attacks upon the Ionians, as well in Parliament as in Newspapers and other publications, attacks emanating from parties whose interest it is to misrepresent the actual state of things, to affirm that all who oppose Sir H. Ward's policy are enemies to the Protection, and desirous of the annexation of the Islands to Greece ! That we should love our mother country, and extend the hand of brotherly affection to the Greeks, with whom we are identical in Origin, Nationality, and Religion, is not surprising. But beyond this we do not go, well aware that the fulness of time has not yet made a closer connection with our brethren suitable or desirable. Indeed, the wise and influential men amongst the Ionians can look dispassionately at the dilapidated condition of Greece, and estimate the disadvantages of a partnership, on one side without capital, and on both sides without strength. All know the Financial embarrassments of the new kingdom, of which, in case of union, we would have to share the liability. We love Greece, nay, we adore her, but certainly we are not in love with the Greeks, particularly (with some exceptions) with those would-be diplomatists, who trifle with her destinies in the Foreign Courts. Besides, other strong reasons, unnecessary for me to dwell upon or enumerate here, will be a barrier to such an union for the present. This had always been the feeling, until the pardonable expression of the sentiment of Nationality, cherished by all the Greek race, uttered by Count Roma, in his opening

speech of the 9th Parliament as President of the Assembly, was, instead of being passed in silence by Sir H. Ward in his reply, taken up by him, fondled, nurtured, strengthened, and encouraged by an official declaration, that such an Union was regarded not only as a possibility, but a desirable future probability, to be approved by the leading Statesmen of the Protecting Nation. I give this injudicious passage at length, that my readers may be able thence to estimate, at its true value, the political discretion of Sir H. Ward:—

“It is not for me to speak in the name of the British Crown of that distant future which the address shadows forth, when the scattered Members of the Greek race may be reunited in one mighty Empire, with the consent of the European Powers. But I have no difficulty in expressing my own opinion that, if such an event be within the scope of human contingencies, **THE SOVEREIGN AND PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND** would be equally willing to see the Ionians resume their place as Members of the new Power that would then take its place in the policy of the world.”—Sir H. Ward’s Speech, April 11, 1850.

What could be expected after such a speech? The hint was enough. The Representatives of Cephalonia, (who were elected while in exile, who have been since banished again, and who, up to the hour I am writing, still linger on lonely rocks at sea) were the first to raise the cry: “Let us away from our floggers.” Since then, in consequence of the repeated prorogations of the Assembly, and other illegalities, the annexation to Greece has become political capital to every violent and unreasoning demagogue. Here was a clamour, a clear object, which the humblest Ionian capacity could comprehend,—a cry, a clamour, an apparent wrong,

—a means whereby all that was factious in Greece could be cemented with all that was enthusiastic and ignorant in the Islands. But this was Sir H. Ward's doing, and it has answered his purpose. It has enabled him to smother the voice of an honest and reasoning opposition, in the clamour of an unreasoning agitation. It empowers him to represent to the English Cabinet and Parliament the danger of conceding to wishes which, however apparently moderate, have, as he represents, no other ultimate object. Count Roma, who was the first, as I said, to mention the word "Nationality" in the Assembly, is now President of the Senate; Sir H. Ward, who took the word from him, is still Lord High Commissioner of our Gracious Protectress; while those who adopted the sentiment and spoke out as Members of that Assembly, where the word *Nationality* was originally mooted, are suffering in exile and solitude all the hardships and miseries of convicted felons!

There are, nevertheless, no people who would more gladly avail themselves of the advantages of the English connection than the Ionians. The mercantile capacity and nautical spirit of our population would desire no better development than under the British flag. Up to the present moment we have seen only that portion of English Constitutional Government which is to be found in barracks and Police stations. The Counting-house, the commercial freedom of England, the associating together for encouraging every branch of human industry, are entirely unknown to us. We are taxed 20 per cent. on our oil and currants. Soldiers are sent to us and we pay them; Statesmen are sent to Govern

us, and we are governed; but, except in the single instance of Lord Seaton, no Lord High Commissioner has ever yet considered what development might be made of the resources of those Islands which occupy in the seas the same position where Venice once became the centre of a world's trade. We have ships and sailors; we have men of vigorous and acute minds; but these are left to be unemployed. The former are compelled by our little navigation laws to sail under the flag of Russia through the Levant, and many of the latter to serve the ambiguous policy of that country as Consuls and Agents in every port of the Mediterranean. Why is this? Because England will not permit our employment in honourable offices in our own country otherwise than as lawyers, nor allow of our services being given to other Sovereigns without a resignation of our nationality [as in my own case],* nor take us in her own service, either in a civil or military capacity, in Great Britain, India, the Colonies, or elsewhere, though thirteen years ago Lord John Russell went to the extent of recommending in a despatch dated 4th of June, 1840, addressed to Sir Howard Douglas, as follows:—

“The advancement of young Ionians in the subordinate offices, with a view to select those of whose ability and integrity the Lord High Commissioner of the Protecting Sovereign is satisfied for the higher posts of the State.”

* My correspondence with the Great Duke of Wellington and Mr. Tricoupi, the Greek Minister in London, on this subject, and the letters of some of the leading statesmen in this country on the Ionian question will shortly be published in another Pamphlet.

Why, if Englishman are employed in our Islands, are we not allowed to serve Great Britain in our turn, either in England or her dependencies? Why is there not a single Ionian to be found as Consul for England in the Levant? England would then exercise more influence and popularity in that part of the world than she can boast of at present.

I had occasion to mention above a pamphlet professing to contain an account of the condition of the Ionian States, entitled "The Ionian Islands under British Protection." To this production, as known to emanate from an English gentleman of University reputation, who had filled the office of Rector to the Ionian University, it was thought in this country that credit would deservedly be given. The result has shown the contrary. It has been proved to represent, so far as politics are concerned, only the feeling of the Bureaucratic party in the Islands; and so far as the experience of the writer goes, to serve only as a vent for a bitter and base personal ingratitude towards Lord Seaton, the most beloved of all the Lord High Commissioners that governed the Islands, and to whom he owed his promotion and honours. It was my duty as an Ionian, to correct the gross misrepresentations in history and facts, which this pamphlet contained; and it has afforded me no small satisfaction to find the character of the writer fully set forth, by an authority presumed to be unquestionable, in the January number of the *Edinburgh Review*. As the Rector's statements have been used even by a Colonial Minister, in the House of Commons, to wing the

arrows of his sarcasm more pointedly against our complaints, I may be pardoned if on behalf of my countrymen, I add to the observations of the Reviewer, already noted, some additional passages which occur at pages 74 and 75. The *Edinburgh Review* says:—

“An anonymous pamphlet appeared in February, 1851, “The Ionian Islands under British Protection,” which we read with distrust and suspicion, because, from the drift and tenor of this plausible statement, it could at one glance be discerned that the remarks of the author were dictated by vindictive feelings or interested views, although it was cleverly drawn up, and its plagiarisms artfully put together.

“Yet, in the enumeration of all these *delicta* and misdoings, the censor never once refers to an arrangement for which we have heard Lord Seaton was more blamed than for any other made by him during the whole course of his administration, and which we really think cannot be palliated,—we mean the imprudent step in bringing from an English University a Fellow of a College, who was personally unknown to him, to take charge of the University of Corfu, on the retirement of Professor Orioli, and giving him the respectable title of Rector.

“It has been said, in apology for this injudicious selection, that the Lord High Commissioner stated that he had confided entirely in the judgment and discrimination of the Heads of Houses, by whose exertions and good offices, on former occasions, eminent individuals had been sent out from Oxford and Cambridge, at his request, to preside over collegiate institutions in British dependencies. We cannot, however, admit this as a sufficient excuse for Lord Seaton’s having persevered in the error into which he had fallen, by continuing the Rector in office.”

The *Edinburgh Reviewer* has, in mercy, omitted to tell his readers, that the Rector, previous to writing this attack on his benefactor, had published a Greek Grammar at Corfu, which made him the

laughing-stock of every scholar in the Islands. This, it appears, so much exasperated the Rector, that he threw off his scholastic gown, and took to politics, libelling the whole Ionian people, and their Lord High Commissioner, Lord Seaton, for having given them Reforms. He went so far out of his element as to suggest to England, that the Ionian Islands should be governed under an avowed Despotism, and even assumed the part of a diplomatist in rearranging the settlement of the Treaty of Paris, by advising the separation or casting off of six out of the seven Islands, and the retention of Corfu alone, "as the only profitable Possession to Great Britain."

Although I have entered on these remarks against my inclination, and feel I am deviating from my subject, yet as I have been so frequently asked who is the gentleman who presumes to put before the world such opinions, and whose presumption has been held up as an authority by the late Colonial Minister, Sir John Pakington, I cannot give a better answer than quoting from the London Papers what may be considered the finishing touches of the portrait sketched of him in the *Edinburgh Review*; nor am I myself entirely without feeling in the matter, as in his libels on the Ionian People he has singled me out personally as their advocate in England, and accumulated upon me every scandal to be expected from a fierce partisan, audaciously ignorant of his subject, and advisedly reckless of truth. He has accused me of being the Agent of a party hostile to the Protection, as a thief would cry

“mad dog” against the faithful guardian of the mansion he was about to rob. I have defied my libeller to the proof in as strong terms as it is possible to use, but his only reply has been a shower of calumnies, partly by himself in anonymous channels, and partly through the medium of the *convenient littérateur* I have already alluded to.

The *John Bull* of December 6, 1851, thus enumerates a portion of the accomplishments of the learned Rector, unfortunately, as the *Edinburgh Review* says, selected for the Ionian University by the too generous Lord Seaton:—

. . . . “The author of the pamphlet, a MR. GEORGE FERGUSON BOWEN, *alias* ‘YOUNG ABERDEEN,’ the exotic Rector of the national University of Corfu, who shows his fitness for the position he holds by putting modern Greek on a par with native Irish; who, moreover, it appears, is a mighty dancer of polkas, and a perfect Nimrod among quails; and who, by way of a holiday diversion, imbrued his hands in 1848, as a volunteer, in the blood of the Vienna rebels, after drinking to good fellowship with their leaders.”

The latter charge is one so serious, that it requires the explanation which I am enabled to supply, both from a leading article of a London daily paper, which commented on such heroic deeds at the time, and from the Rector himself, who, “excited,” as he says, “by the pride and pomp of glorious war,” speaks thus in his letter to the *Times* of the 22nd of November, 1848:—

“Dreadfully exasperated by the treatment we had met with from the rebels, and excited by the ‘pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war,’ we offered the general our services, which, as men were scarce, were thankfully accepted, and setting

to work in good earnest, under the direction of the engineer officers, we soon erected—soldiers and civilians working together—a strong breast-plate of paving stones (N.B. Macadamising the streets of the continental cities would most effectually prevent revolutions), from which the six cannon we had left us swept the bridge with such a murderous fire of grape, that a sally became impossible. Of course, we were fired on continually from the ramparts, and I, for the first time, literally tasted blood, which has daubed my face and clothes, when a round shot carried off the head of an artilleryman by my side.”

The ridicule with which these warlike exploits of the Rector was received by the officers of the garrison at Corfu, to whom he was proudly relating them, can be easily conceived.

I should not have taken the trouble to mention Mr. Bowen's name or pamphlet, for the intrinsic value of either of them, had not the latter unfortunately been selected, as I said before, by Sir John Pakington, as an authority, and adopted lately, as a theme for argument, in respectable periodicals, as well as in some influential Newspapers.

It remains now for me to inform my readers of the pleasing fact, that Mr. Ferguson Bowen no longer unites the invidious position of Rector of the Ionian University and libeller of the Ionian people;* although for his six months' absence in the latter

* In Appendix B will be found the reply which appeared in the *Patris*, leading Corfu Newspaper, to the libel on the Ionians furnished to the *Times* by our scholar on his return to Corfu, flushed with his victory over the Vienna insurgents. The libel was published in the *Times* of September 17, 1849, and this reply, written by the actual President of the Assembly, who at the time was the Editor of the *Patris*, was never translated or published in English.

office he thought it not unbecoming a gentleman and a scholar to claim and receive the further amount of £200, as half-year's notice to quit the Rectorship was not regularly served upon him. This sum he has received without performance of any duties.

I now add the leading article above alluded to, taking in the meantime my last farewell of our generous friend Mr. George Ferguson Bowen :—

“ After acknowledging that he had enjoyed the hospitality of the Viennese, and had been welcomed with particular affection by the students of the Austrian Universities, this English traveller coolly remarks: “ On Sunday morning, the 29th of October, my friend H. and I managed to escape from one of the advanced barricades, whither we had been pressed, into the Leopoldstadt, where we were most kindly received by the troops, both officers and men, *to whom we were able to give valuable information as to the real state and disposition of the rebel forces.*” So that this English gentleman, this honourable member of the University of Oxford, was literally a spy among the unfortunate Viennese, and the unblushing informer of Jellachich and Windischgrätz. We envy our contemporary (the *Times*) its pride in the dignity and credibility of its vaunted correspondent. To our obtuse comprehension, the character of the member of the University of Oxford, who first betrays the Viennese, and afterwards traduces them, is not one jot less despicable than that of Dobbin, the Irish spy, or that of Powell, the Chartist informer. Hear him rejoicing over the downfall of the capital of Austria, although “ the beautiful suburbs were being riddled with shells and shot;” although “ his senses were stunned by the roar of cannon, the whizzing of rockets, and the roll of musketry;” although “ weeping wives, sisters, and daughters, were picking literally piecemeal out of the ruins the consumed bodies of their relations.” “ At length the firing behind us gradually slackened, and then died away, and towards sunset the victorious Imperialists marched back from the field of battle, having utterly

routed the Hungarians, and driven 3,000 of them into the Danube, which will roll their dead bodies down to Pesth, a fearful tiding of their defeat." In alluding to the rigour of the victors, the Oxford University spy and informer is in a trance of exultation. " Martial law," says he, with a cynical sneer of indifference, " is *of course* proclaimed, and the leaders of the revolt are being shot in batches as they are caught ;" mentioning the inhuman *battue* as calmly as though the victims were as many wild boars and shakals. Listen particularly to the following record of these atrocities, and say if the passage is not despicable for its depraved and inhuman callousness : " We have seen the execution of several of the chief students, who had rather fraternized with us as English University-men on our first arrival, but who latterly had become too great men to condescend to notice or protect us from outrage ; so we feel no pity for them. The great body of the students who have borne arms are to be forced to serve as common soldiers among the savage Croats." These sentences need no comment. We lament that our contemporaries have condescended to calumniate the population of a conquered capital, and that they have had the temerity to enforce their misrepresentations with the narrative of a man who announces himself *to be a spy and an informer*, at the very moment he is paraded before us as " a student of Oxford and a gentleman of England."—*The Sun*, November 23, 1848.

For myself it has been asked, why am I so persistent in forcing the complaints of the Ionians on the notice of the British public. I am pointed out by Sir H. Ward's partisans as the organ of a vexatious opposition, as a person who will not be quieted, and as an amateur Politician. I reply, that I am neither the organ nor Agent of any party whatever, and I defy contradiction. I say that I have a right to continue my appeal so long as the following words of the *Edinburgh Review* are not attended to : " In govern-

ing the Ionian People, *common sense* and *sincerity* are the essential requisites." Let the People and Government of Great Britain hear these words. For thirty-five years and more we have been under your Government, and yet "*common sense*" and "*sincerity*" are still wanting in your Administration in our Islands.

How long such a disgrace will be suffered to continue, it is impossible to calculate ; for so changeable are the Administrations of England, that it is but once in ten years that a Ministry can be found with sufficient perseverance to attend to our interests. On all other occasions, our complaints are neglected, our wants are denied, our sufferings unheeded. So long, however, as this state of things continues, so long will I (if it pleases God to preserve me) persist in exposing our wrongs, and challenging inquiry and redress. In this I am justified and insured by the words of Lord John Russell in his despatch to Sir H. Douglas, 21st of December, 1839, where, referring to the exertions made by my friend, the Chevalier Mustoxidi, efforts which Sir H. Douglas attempted to foil by some objection of formality, his Lordship replied :—

"I can no longer delay the consideration of the topics urged by Mr. Mustoxidi on her Majesty's Government. I am not unmindful of the objections which you have made to the recognition of that gentleman in any official capacity by the Ministers of the Crown ; nor has he in fact been so recognised. *But I cannot deny his right, as a native of the Ionian States, to bring under the consideration of her Majesty's Ministers any grievances under which he conceives the Ionian People to labour,*" &c.

This right, therefore, applies to every native of the Ionian Islands, and fortified by this high authority, as I have already said, I shall persevere, in bringing under the consideration of the British public the grievances of my countrymen.

It is said by those whose interest is to keep us in the "*statu quo*," that the Ionians have no positive and immediate grievances,—that their complaints have a reference only to the past, or may be for the most comprised as disputes on points of Constitutional Law. I think, however, the letters which follow will sufficiently testify the practical nature of our wrongs; that they are most flagrantly of the present needs no further proof than the Memorial addressed so late as the 12th of January, 1853, to his grace the Duke of Newcastle, as Colonial Minister, by the Chevalier Mustoxidi. This accomplished Statesman, after narrating the insult to himself, a man of honour, of known Patriotism, of universal esteem, and literary reputation, and whose acknowledged virtues had lived down the calumnies of Sir H. Douglas, so triumphantly answered in his *Refutatione*, recapitulates, in the Memorial above mentioned, the following charges against the Administration of Sir H. Ward:—

"Let us examine," says the venerable scholar, "the acts of Sir H. Ward; and what do they exhibit in the space of little more than three years?—

"1. The dilapidation of the public treasury, which is almost exhausted by the numerous pensions, indemnities, and retiring allowances, given to individuals who are still able to serve the State.

"2. Prorogations, which, by exceeding the periods appointed by the Constitution, prevent any progress being made during the Parliamentary Sessions.

"3. The Electoral Laws materially altered by an arbitrary authority.

"4. The rights of the Assembly and those of the Electoral bodies annihilated.

"5. The public Functionaries and employés degraded, by an express order to consider the salary received for their services as the price of their freedom of voting.

"6. The separate and exclusive arrangement of the balloting-boxes, in contempt of the Secrecy of Voting, to the advantage of the Government candidates.

"7. The interference of an armed force in the Elections.

"8. The dismissal of a Regent for having declared 'that he would not act otherwise than impartially and legally as President of the Elections.'

"9. Persons who have been intruded upon the Assembly as Members, acting as judges in their own cause, and sanctioning their own Election, which had been disavowed by the people.

"10. The integrity of the Constitutional number of the Assembly, as well for the Islands in general, as for each one in particular, purposely prevented.

"11. Representatives exiled, and thrown with other persons, heads of families, upon barren and almost uninhabited rocks, now for years and months, and an indefinite time, without any trial.

"12. Local Governments not appointed at the

periods prescribed by the Constitution, and either suspended or dismissed, and then not replaced by the votes of the Electors.

“These are a portion, but not the whole, of the abuses which worry and oppress the Ionians, which keep them in a state of excitement and irritation,—thus raising a struggle of miserable and ignoble passions under a Protection, whose desire and duty it is to be salutary and efficaciously beneficial.

“Nor can we among these abuses pass over in silence the recent dismissal of ten Judges, gifted with experience by their long services, and held in public estimation for their integrity.”

M. Mustoxidi does not stand alone in these opinions; all men of all parties, even those who now lend themselves to subserve the wishes of Sir Henry Ward,—possibly, it may be, from a dread that men who might deal more harshly with their country, would be called in to replace them,—these men themselves acknowledge the errors and falsity of this Administration. There is not an honest or a consistent man in the Islands, be he Englishman or Ionian, who hesitates to avow in private circles his conviction that Sir H. Ward is a dangerous blunderer.

But what causes more disgust than all, what specially revolts every man of proper feeling, is the want of probity, of directness, of sincerity,—in short of truth, in every act of Sir H. Ward's administration. The charge is a serious one, yet such is the general opinion of all in the Ionian Islands. Dr. Zambelli, in a recent pamphlet of remonstrance, addressed to

M. Broila, his former colleague in an opposition journal, and friend, but whom Sir H. Ward made actual President of the Assembly, thus finely sums up on this point :—

“ If the Protecting Power believes that this country ought to be governed Despotically; if it be its resolve that all should depend only on the will of its Representative (which I cannot bring myself to believe, so contrary to the honour, the interests, and the generous tendencies of England does such an hypothesis appear); if such be the intention she cherishes, let her formally declare it, nor longer tolerate the total violation of our Constitution in its letter and spirit, under one pretext or another, nor longer cause to flit before our vision the shadows of free Institutions through a mist of trickery and deception, which serve no other purpose than to irritate or to corrupt our actions, and furnish our enemies an occasion for repeating that we are not adapted for a Constitutional Government. In such circumstances, the situation becomes more simple. If the Ionians should not be content, nevertheless, under the sense of their weakness, they would at least be quiet and silent. The spirit of man is so constituted as to yield readily to force, and compose itself to patience; but against falsehood and pretence it revolts.

“ If, however, on the contrary, the Protection, faithful to its own high mission and the generous feeling of the British Nation, wishes, as I firmly believe, to consolidate for us Liberal Institutions, and render them profitable to the people and enviable by our

numerous kindred neighbours, then let her Representative speedily alter his conduct and study to regulate every act and step by the requirements of a rigidly honest policy, by openly repudiating all practices, all subterfuges, all precedents, not in accordance with a strict morality,—since in a State properly administered the policy of honesty is always the best of policies. Let him renounce the idea, so fatal as well to him as to us, of wishing, (in a country to which he is entirely a stranger, and where he has not been long enough to know it intimately,) to Govern after the fashion of a Master, to concentrate in his hands all the reins of Administration, to give motion to every wheel of the machine of Government. This fatal delusion—the cause of all our difficulties, past and present—has done nothing but draw down upon the head of the Representative of the Protection and the Protection itself all the unpopularity inherent in bad Government, as well as all the odium consequent on the failures, the abuses, the daily follies, of an infirm and impotent Administration.

“ The Lord High Commissioner of the Protecting nation should, on the contrary, if he wish to act rightly, use every care to avoid descending from the elevated sphere in which it was the object of the Treaty of Paris to place him, and where he can still maintain himself by virtue of the Constitution, if *honestly* interpreted ; that is to say, he should circumscribe his office to watching over merely, and moderating only as far as may be within his province, the

free and spontaneous actions of the different Authorities which constitute the Government, without neutralizing or suppressing such free and spontaneous action by an unwarranted, an uncalled-for, and an all-absorbing interference, as hitherto has been daily the case.

“In these conditions our representative system might become *a truth*; and, by a necessary consequence, the public Administration, released from the shackles which render it inert and obtuse, a thing without feeling or life, would become at once facile and active. The people, too, satisfied with seeing order ruling in the conduct of their affairs, and justice and the Laws scrupulously respected, would not only become tranquillized, but unite in appreciating the advantage of a guardianship which permitted them the enjoyment in peace of such inestimable advantages and an advancement in civilization without cost and without danger.”

It certainly is not very flattering to the *amour propre* of Englishmen that such opinions, so freely expressed, should be promulgated throughout Europe, especially at the present moment. Yet so it is; and the remedy must lie with the British Parliament, in whose hands are now placed the Power and interests of their country. Day by day the Ionian Islands, from their position, are assuming a higher importance to England; and it will surely be decent, and it may be advantageous, that their present complaints, after thirty-six years' Protection, should not be left in silence to swell the murmurs of unredressed wrong,

and remonstrance unattended to, which have come sighing over the Ægean during the whole of that period.

I now invite the Members of the English Legislature to a patient perusal of the Letters which follow. They were written from time to time as occasion arose, and contain such supplementary facts to my last statement in "*The Ionian Islands, what they have lost and suffered under the thirty-five years' administration of the Lord High Commissioners,*" as will serve to complete the history of these Islands since they have had the misfortune to fall under the administration of the once ultra-liberal Member for Sheffield, Sir H. Ward.

How justly entitled a "misfortune" can be judged by those who remember the Hungarian Debate of February the 8th, 1850, when Mr. Disraeli, in alluding to the speech of Sir A. Cockburn, who had read a list of persons executed by Austria, observed, "He (~~Mr. Disraeli~~) might refer to what had taken *Sir A. Cockburn* place in the Greek Islands, which were under our Patronage and Protection, to wholesale murders perpetrated in those dependencies; and he might ask, what do you think of the conduct of England, and what do you think of the manner in which a country placed under the Protection of a Great and enlightened Power is treated?"—*Hansard*, 1850.

AN IONIAN,

London, March 14, 1853.

LETTERS,

&c.

THE following two letters to Sir John Pakington were sent for publication to the *Daily News*, but their appearance was prevented by the sudden change of English home-politics, which terminated in the resignation of Lord Derby's administration.

No. I.

To the Right Honourable Sir John Pakington, Her Majesty's Colonial Minister.

SIR,—In the course of last session, when the Ionian question was mooted, you exhibited so remarkable a want of knowledge of the subject, by referring (and that incorrectly) to what happened in our grandfathers' time, as an excuse for what is going on at present, that, as the position and administration of the Islands are to form this session an early subject of discussion, I shall venture from time to time, on behalf of my countrymen, to furnish you with such a *précis* of information now at hand on Ionian affairs, particularly after your speech of the 2nd of December on Mr. Hume's motion for

additional papers, as I hope will enable you and other members of Parliament to meet the question with greater facility and clearness.

In so doing, it is fortunate that my first duty, that of ridding the discussion of its personalities, will be briefly and easily performed. As the period of opening Parliament drew near, great pains appear to have been taken, from hitherto unused quarters, to produce an impression in the public mind unfavourable to the Ionian cause. Its advocates in England were maligned, and the heads of the party in honest opposition to Sir H. Ward's administration and policy in the Islands calumniated, while the effusions of a crack-brained, malcontent Greek poet, in praise of the ever-flourishing Island of Zante, were elevated into a laudation of British rule, and an incontestable evidence of the many blessings bestowed on the Ionians by the paternal administration of Sir H. Ward.

For myself, I am denominated by the *Quarterly Review*, the "Ionian of the *Daily News*," the "proclaimed agent of doctrinaires, intriguers, and agitators;" "the party to whom Mr. Hume and other English organs of democracy stoop for information," &c. I gladly accept the first title, and acknowledge, as an ample reward of my exertions in that independent Paper, the attention of Englishmen now so largely directed to the position and requirements of my countrymen. That I have ever been the proclaimed agent, or indeed the agent of any party, I deny. The course I have pursued has been singularly spontaneous and independent; my sources

of information supplied by your own Parliamentary Papers and other public documents. That I am of the doctrinaire party (of which I hardly know the meaning) is also untrue; for I have all along supported the Protection, and set forth to my countrymen in the strongest language the necessity and advantage of such Protection to themselves, while I opposed and denounced the policy of such Lord High Commissioners as Sir H. Ward. That Mr. Hume, or any other gentleman, should "stoop to me for information," I consider would be unnecessary, seeing that, were any Englishman desirous to know to the fullest the wrongs under which the Ionians labour—the falsehood, extravagance, and cruelty, which have been exercised towards them by their present ruler—he need go no further than to the two Blue Books, Nos. 109 and 567, which Mr. Hume has wrung from the authorities in what they thought could be self-defence during the last three years.

The next personality which I have to clear off from this question is the attack made on Dr. N. Zambelli, a leading member of the Assembly, by Sir H. Ward, in the recently published Blue Book, page 28, where the Lord High Commissioner, in a public document, charges that gentleman with having denounced him in the Assembly "*in the coarsest and unmeasured terms.*" This charge is accompanied, where the name of Dr. Zambelli occurs, with certain *significant* asterisks, intimating even a stronger expression of opinion to that gentleman's disparagement. Now, I have Dr. Zam-

belli's speech on that occasion before me in Greek ; not a single word is there personal to Sir H. Ward. You must know, Sir, that Dr. Zambelli bears in relation to the Ionian Assembly the same position which Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Macaulay hold in your own House of Commons. To denounce such men as demagogues and agitators, because they happened to be in opposition to Lord Derby or yourself, would show little regard for taste or truth. Yet, such is Sir H. Ward's mode of complimenting (p. 28, parl. pap. 567) the Statesman whom (at p. 132) he thus speaks of to Lord Grey : “ *I assured Dr. Zambelli that his election as President of the Assembly would be most acceptable to me ;*” to whom subsequently he offered the position of Senator, and next that of Judge, in the Supreme Council of Justice ; *i. e.* one of the four chief justices of the Islands—all of which places Dr. Zambelli conscientiously refused to accept under his administration.

In my next I shall furnish you with an extract of a letter written by Dr. Zambelli to Sir H. Ward, which will give you, sir, a sufficient insight into the slipperiness of Sir H. Ward's policy, and the self-created difficulties of his administration. In this letter Mr. Zambelli, in replying to one of Sir H. Ward's, in which he questioned him why he had withdrawn from the Assembly, the Doctor replies, “ that he did not know how it happened, but that he saw with grief that all his Government had done or undertaken was a withdrawal of that line of vigorous honesty which alone could be satisfactory to the country, and could alone be consistent with

the dignity and reputation of Great Britain." To say more on this point would be unnecessary.

I now come to the "testimony of Mr. Panajotti Soutzo," whose letter in the *Courrier d'Athènes* (an Anglo-Greek paper just deceased with the departure from Athens of its proprietor, Mr. Griffith, the late Secretary of the British Legation, under that great diplomatist Sir E. Lyons) was forwarded to Lord Grey by Sir H. Ward, as the production of "*an Athenian gentleman of eminence and wealth*" (p. 151), and was by his Lordship acknowledged (p. 153) with "much pleasure," as "highly satisfactory to find that the system of government established in the Ionian Islands elicited such a strong testimony to its success from an intelligent and *impartial observer*!" Why, sir, this is as if the evidence of Mr. Thomas Paine's writings to the rational liberty of France under the Convention had been received as a proof of the decadence of true liberty in England. The disappointed poet, whom it pleases Sir H. Ward to dignify as an "Athenian," he being a Fanariote, happened to go to Zante, where he married a young lady of family and wealth. Delighted with the beauty of the country (*Zante fior di Levante*), he took the opportunity to vent his spirit of disappointment at the want of appreciation of his political parts at Athens, by loudly praising its natural beauty and prosperity as the result of good Government in the Ionian Islands in contrast with Greece!

This new lover of order and of Sir H. Ward's rule should have told us that the "material pros-

perity" of Zante terminated in an almost universal bankruptcy; that the Members of its Municipality, "so freely elected," as he says, were banished without trial, and its members of the Assembly elected under force of bayonets, intimidation, and corruption. This new ally of Sir H. Ward, and admirer of his Government, this poet (who had compared and dignified in former verses the assassins of Count Capodistrias with the heroic glories of Harmodius and Aristogeiton), was welcomed with avidity as a friend by Sir H. Ward, and his letter handed over to Lord Grey, as "affording the best answer to the complaints of his tyranny and mismanagement in the Islands!"

I can leave to Mr. Tricoupi, the vigilant representative of Greece, the proper reply to this Fanariote poet's charges of brigandage, peculation, and piracy against his Government; and to the *intelligent and patriotic* Greek Consul in London, Mr. Pandia Ralli, the pleasing duty of showing the gradually increasing commercial development of Greece. But, on the part of my countrymen, I cannot permit this letter of Mr. Panajotti Soutzo to remain in the Blue Book, and be quoted to the Members of the British Parliament, in some future debate, as an unquestionable testimony of an "*eminent and wealthy Athenian gentleman*," to the happy and prosperous condition of our Islands, while every debate in the Assembly, every address to the Lord High Commissioner, every port through Europe, teems with complaints of our decreasing mercantile marine, the diminution of our population, the alienation of our lands by foreign usurers, the constant failure of our crops,

the mischievous system of our export duties, and the oppression of our citizens, made doubly grievous and intolerable by the simulated guise of liberty under which it is inflicted.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

AN IONIAN.

Erechtheum Club, Dec. 6, 1852.

No. II.

Second Letter to the Right Honourable Sir John Pakington.

SIR,—Seeing that Sir H. Ward's present President of the Ionian Assembly, Mr. Braila, and his confidential friend and adviser, Mr. Curcumelli, have been both of them Editors of Newspapers, the former in strong opposition to his Government, in the *Patris*, and the other what was considered at one time a vehement satirist of the British garrison and the Protection in the *Timone*, I should not be inclined to take notice of the charges directed against the Ionian Press, but that you, Sir, on the 6th of April last, in your speech in reply to Mr. Hume, and the recent advocates of the present Ionian policy, have made such use of certain violent nonsense, which appeared in one or two papers, and founded upon them an attack upon the whole Ionian Press. It may clear the question of this prejudice intentionally thrown over it, if I observe that such trash appeared in two Cephalonian news-

papers only, and at a time when hot and angry feelings were roused by the savage method of putting down what was at the utmost an agrarian riot in that Island. It is as unjust to stigmatize the whole Ionian Press on this account, as it would be to attempt to deduce the character of the Newspapers of England from certain violent publications of a certain class of writers. It is only that the facts are unknown in this country, that such a representation could be made to tell effectively against the Ionians.

Having given this explanation, I will now proceed to point out clearly to you our present position. Eighteen months ago, Sir H. Ward, finding it undesirable further to carry on his Government in utter defiance of public opinion, took advice with the leaders of the opposition party, and announced that Her Majesty, on the meeting of the newly-elected Assembly, would assent to "certain changes in the Charter of 1817." When the Assembly met, however, he made the introduction of these changes dependent on the Assembly voting an address, fully approving his former policy. This refused, he at once prorogued the Assembly for six months.

On the Assembly being again summoned to meet, before the expiration of the six months, and the address, or a modification of it, having been voted, it was naturally expected that the introduction of the proposed reforms would immediately follow. Nothing could be further from Sir H. Ward's intention. He then introduced a new condition, viz. that before these reforms were brought forward, the

Assembly should at once give up to him the liberty of the press, for which he in return would surrender the "high police" powers, by which he was enabled to seize and banish, without trial, any citizens he might select, as the victims of political animosity.

But, that the liberty of the press might not appear at once strangled, he proposed that it should be submitted to the following restrictions: first, the abandonment of trial by jury in all libels; secondly, the payment of a heavy caution-money; thirdly, that certain qualifications should be required from the Editor or authorized publisher; as the possession of electoral property, etc. Such conditions, it was well argued, led to the destruction of the freedom of discussion. The risk of such a caution-money, so monstrous in a country so poor, no one would like to take upon himself. It was observed, that to withdraw from the jurisdiction of a jury, not only offences against the State, but even those offences comprised under the category of "*injuriæ* against public functionaries" (see the recent libel case in France), or excitement towards hatred and contempt of the authorities, "would leave the liberty of the press but an empty name." It was suggested that there had been yet only two trials by jury, and that although, in both cases, verdicts had been given against the Government, yet that these two instances were not sufficient to warrant such an entire privation of the right of trial by jury; and that any defect in the system, arising from local irritation or prejudice, might have been readily remedied

by adopting the English principle of changing the *venue*, and trying such cases in Corfu, where a fair trial and a temperate jury might at any rate have been insured. It was pointed out, too, that in France, whose example it was sought to follow (!), the judges of the ordinary tribunals were for the most part independent and irremovable, while in the Ionian Islands, by a necessary consequence of their social position, and of the general moderation of private fortunes, the judge, who is removable and transferable from one island to another (that is, from a large salary to a small one,—see last Blue Book, No. 567, pp. 143, 4, 5), could not, generally speaking, be independent, since in questions that concern the press, whose natural mission it is to wrestle with, if not oppose, those invested with public authority, the conscience of a judge so situated must feel the influence of the wishes, the tendencies, the expectations of the Government, which will not allow him to be impartial. How, in fact, can it be otherwise, when upon the nature of his decision depend his preserving his post, the bread of his family, his hopes, his peace and security, and even that of his relations, whose very subsistence he may be sometimes compromising? That this is no reasoning from mere abstraction, those who have experience of our country can testify, and you, Sir, or any Englishman may satisfy himself by referring to the last Blue Book, where, at p. 143, Sir H. Ward gives what he hopes will be regarded as an explanation, he cannot venture upon an answer—to the question put to him “*of the despatches or*

reports of the changes of the local jurisdiction of the judges in the different islands, and the grounds for this unusual interfering in the administration of justice."

With a judicial body, essentially dependent on the Government, and with a Government which never has been, and is not now,—and it is to be feared never will be—above being affected by every paltry passion, it can easily be foreseen, that every criticism, every finding-fault,—even the salt of conversation, irony itself,—would infallibly (at least, in the majority of cases) be brought under the category of "an offence against the functionaries and authorities, whose actions or whose words are censured." Imagine the position of your own press, were a laugh at a Lord Mayor, or an attack upon an incompetent Secretary of State, made out to be high treason! nay, even not to praise, perverted to a charge of "exciting to contumely and contempt of authority!" What, Sir, might the Ionians have expected, but the renewal in their Islands of those *procès de tendance*, so celebrated under the government of the Restoration in France, in which the cunning of zealous officials studied to discover in the most simple and innocent phrases a recondite, malicious sense of abuse against the authorities, or a tendency to excite hatred and contempt of the Government.

On such conditions, the Ionian Assembly declined to receive the proposed boon of the surrender of the "High Police power;" and thence, on the non-performance of his preliminary condition, Sir H. Ward declared himself justified in withholding the pro-

mised reforms, and in instantly dismissing the Assembly in an angry speech, which, with its antecedents and correlations, I shall make the subject of my next letter.

Such, Sir, is the present condition of the "Ionian question." I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

AN IONIAN.

*Erechtheum Club, St. James's Square,
Dec. 13, 1852.*

No. III.

*To the Right Honourable Sir Henry Ward, Lord High
Commissioner of the Ionian Islands.*

SIR,—The time has now arrived, with the opening of the Parliamentary Session, when your conduct, as Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, already condemned by the public opinion of your countrymen as derogatory to the British policy, and unworthy the name of England, must be brought before the great tribunal of British Statesmen for their final judgment, whether barbarous cruelty and unabated despotism are henceforth to form a portion of the instructions to be furnished to English Governors abroad by the Colonial Office. Differing, as we do, in language, anomalous as is our position, and totally without a Representative in this country, with a literature silenced by the shackles of authority,

and a press whose fetters are but just loosened; it might have been expected that the wrongs of the Ionians would have been unheard and unredressed; but my presence in this country, and the accident of long residence, which has made me a sharer in the feelings, as well as conversant with the language of your countrymen, have enabled me, aided as I have been by a nobleman to whom all Ionians must ever feel deeply grateful, to place these matters, without loss of time, and in their true light, before the indignant public, and I now complete my task by this public letter to yourself, in the full conviction that it will meet the eye of some Member of the Legislature, and induce him to compel an inquiry, which must inevitably result in your condemnation and disgrace.

A sense of duty, under the urgent circumstances which surround the present position of my native country, could alone induce me to conquer the repugnance which I feel in addressing you personally on the late occurrences in Cephalonia and Corfu. I would willingly have regarded them as faults of the system, not of the man, and have found a parallel in the acts of Sir Howard Douglas and Sir Thomas Maitland for those of Sir Henry Ward. But it is not so. A short three months of your administration have accumulated crimes and cruelties far exceeding the faults and errors of the thirty years of the preceding Commissioners, and a long catalogue of charges is already recorded against you. Would to God that any of them could be contradicted by you, or the bureaucracy of officials

in the Ionian Islands who have inveigled you within their grasp.

You are publicly accused in all the Ionian papers, without a single exception, as well as by the Greek and Italian press,

1. Of far exceeding even the arbitrary powers vested in you by the Ionian Constitution.

2. Of continuing martial law throughout Cephalonia after the trifling riot there had been instantly suppressed by the people themselves.

3. Of exaggerating into a general rebellion throughout Cephalonia what was in reality a mere local outrage in a small district.

4. Of exposing men to trial by courts-martial, and thereby depriving them of the protection of the forms of justice.

5. Of stopping the Cephalonian press, and (though you yourself, I am told, were once the editor of a newspaper) consigning the editors to banishment without form or trial, in violation of all the guarantees of the law of the press.

6. Of shooting and hanging, according to your own account, twenty-one individuals more or less criminal, and some innocent, for this merely local disturbance.

7. Of flogging by cat-o'-nine-tails—a punishment hitherto unknown in the islands or Greece—no less than three hundred persons in Cephalonia, whereof many are asserted by the public papers to have subsequently died, and of which all account was kept back in your public speech to the Ionian Assembly.

8. Of burning down houses, uprooting vineyards

and currant plantations, as a punishment upon suspected or criminated individuals.

9. Of causing two innocent persons to undergo the feeling and terror of death by a simulated execution, as a means of torture, to obtain testimony from them as to the concealment of arms by their neighbours.

10. Of suborning spies and encouraging information of conspiracies and sedition which had no existence, and then refusing to give up the name of the informer, or even to punish him for the false information which had caused such terror and disaffection throughout the country.

11. Of committing outrages on the rights of citizens and the sanctity of private life in Corfu, by invading their dwellings at night, seizing their papers, and imprisoning them; subsequently exiling several of them without any trial or hearing, such as the Italian Colonel Zambecari, Rocco Carrerini, and others.

12. Of banishing likewise without hearing or trial Joseph Monferato and Elia Zervò, both editors of newspapers.

13. Of discouraging and preventing public lectures for the instruction of the Ionian youth, in refusing permission to Dr. Diomedes Delviniotti to give a public lecture on the history of medicine.

This is but an abridgment of the charges already made against you, and it is on this account I am compelled to bring your alleged conduct thus publicly before your countrymen.

When I first heard of your appointment as Lord

High Commissioner to the Ionian Islands, I congratulated myself that my countrymen had at last obtained the object of their wishes, in having to preside over them a civilian, and one who for some years past had been pointed out to me as likely to hold a distinguished rank among British Statesmen.

Your avowed opinions, your representation of the Liberal constituency of Sheffield during three Parliaments, and the able manner in which you had administered the duties and carried out the financial reforms in the naval department committed to your charge, were also in my opinion sufficient evidences of your enlightened views, and guarantees of your prudence and competence to execute the office of Lord High Commissioner.

I was much fortified in this opinion by the frankness of your manner at the interview I had with you previous to your departure, in which, at your request, I explained to you briefly the desires and aspirations of the Ionians for a revision of their Constitution; and in which, speaking without local sympathies—of which, though an Ionian, I am from long residence in this country totally divested—I impartially set before you the state of parties progressive and retrograde in that much-mismanaged country. Your answer was, that the reforms were granted: In a moment of enthusiasm excited by your sympathy with the just and honest desires of my countrymen. I also took occasion to forewarn you against the *clique* who were always ready to surround a new Lord High Commissioner, and trammel and retard

every onward effort on his part for the good of the people intrusted to his charge.

How great, then, was my surprise to hear that, no sooner had you arrived in the Islands, than it was whispered that you were about to place obstacles in the way of the Royal Sanction to the modifications of the Constitution granted by your Predecessor ! How much greater my astonishment to learn the course you have pursued in repressing the trifling outbreak in Cephalonia—to read your proclamations—the accounts of shootings, hangings, and floggings in that Island—the terror of the people, the stoppage of their trade, the banishment of their public writers, and outrage upon outrage committed by your authority in defiance of all rights and laws !

Since the Ionian Islands have existed, there is no example of such horrors—horrors neither called for by the necessity of the case, nor justified by the result ; outrages which have caused a stain on the English name throughout Eastern and Western Europe, which no future granting of a liberal Constitution can efface, no *éclat* of new honours, no applause of Senators publicly assenting, but shuddering in private, can obliterate.

By this time you may have reflected whether it is better to conduct a Government by terror than by law ; whether it be wise to deal with a riot as a rebellion, and whether the love of a people is to be won by acts of blood and tyranny ; but I should like to ask the designing men who have taught you to regard hanging and shooting as the most fit means for governing the Ionian Islands, in con-

tradiction to what they have characterized as “the mistaken clemency and lamentable supineness” of your predecessor, Lord Seaton, whether it has never struck them that the feelings, not to say the rights of the Ionians, were worthy of regard, and that the people governed, as well as the governing power, have a claim to consideration. That the Ionians have rights is an established fact—by the Treaty of Paris, which alone gave England a Protecting Power over them; that these rights have been violated and their Constitutional privileges filched from them by the men sent to govern them, is also equally clear and indisputable. We have not hitherto been regarded as a free people, or as Independent States, but carefully put down, and kept back, while all around us, our kindred Greece, and even Turkey, have made rapid advances in commerce and civilization—the Ionian Islands, I say, have been held back, and treated worse than colonies in the Mediterranean, without any reference to the interests of the people, the improvement of their commerce, or the advancement of their civilization.

For the present, I will but make allusion to the wholesale hanging and shooting by courts-martial of twenty-one persons, to repress what at the most was but a petty local riot—almost as many as have been hung and shot by court-martial in Hungary by the Austrians, in quelling the insurrection of eleven millions—and seven times as many as have suffered death, after trial, by a legal tribunal in the last French revolution, and its many subsequent conflicts; but I will take up the minor punishment of

flogging—as you perhaps consider it—a punishment which will hand your name down with execration from generation to generation successively, in the Island of Cephalonia. To the infamous degradation, to the disgusting details of this hitherto unknown political penalty, is superadded in the East a horrible result—you have murdered or disabled for life almost every man you have flogged! The medical evidence which I recollect was taken at an inquest at Hounslow Barracks, some years since, may lead you to a comprehension of the details, which I shudder in writing. The people of the North are different from the people of the East. Your British sailor or your soldier undergoes a flogging, throws his shirt over his raw back, goes to the hospital for a week, perhaps returns to his duty, and sins again—to go through the same ordeal. Not so the people of the East—with them the cuticle on the back is finer and more susceptible; with them the lash on the back is death!—the raw wound, cut in by the sharp repeated blows of the leather thongs, never heals in the East; it festers and corrupts—to mortification! The Turk knows this, and bastinadoes on the foot, as do all Eastern nations. You have, therefore, as I before observed, murdered almost every man you flogged, and the *Αἰών* and letters from Cephalonians testify that you have flogged more than three hundred.

It would be sufficient to leave you to the indignation of your own countrymen of all classes, when these atrocious outrages against humanity have been sufficiently made known to them. But

what can be said of the disgrace you have brought on the Gracious and amiable Sovereign whom you represent in the Ionian Islands? What must be the feelings of those who, like myself, have known the kindness of heart and tender mercies of Her Majesty from childhood, when I meet with such passages in the foreign newspapers as I lately saw in one from France (for the savageness of your government is bruited throughout Europe), where it was said:—"The emperor of Austria is called the 'Red Emperor,' from Marshal Haynau's treatment of the Hungarians; under what colour shall we range Queen Victoria, in consideration of the double-dyed atrocities of Mr. Ward in Cephalonia?"

I can fully acquit Her Majesty's Ministers of the responsibility of your conduct. It was impossible to suppose you would have had power, will, or occasion for such a display of your unfitness for authority. It was known that there had been an outbreak in Santa Maura in Sir Thomas Maitland's time, repressed by him after a severe loss of the military, but in due course of law the guilty were tried and punished without martial law. It was known, also, that there had been a riot in Cephalonia in Lord Seaton's time, which also he had quelled without demonstration of extra force, without bloodshed, and indeed had quieted by the use of mercy only. Not so with you. Justice tore the bandage from her eyes and brandished a bloody sword—a wicked murder was punished by a series of atrocious crimes. Terror reigned throughout

the whole Island of Cephalonia—their harbours blockaded — their fishing-boats sunk — the lash whizzing in every village street. The gibbet rearing its head on every causeway, the fusillade rattling in the peaceful villages, the rampant soldier and the brutal police spy were the weapons and instruments of the Representative of British power, as Protector of a nation, to suppress a disturbance purely local, while a whole community of 70,000 persons were placed under blockade, because you could not catch two brigands, lurking for their lives in dens and caverns of the mountain-ridges, and the rocks on the sea-shore.

Such have been the acts, just previous to which you received the glorification of the Order of St. George and Michael—your honours will, I hope, be as short-lived as your reputation. The policy you have chosen to carry out is that of Sir H. Douglas—a policy of force, terror, and repression—a policy which always made up something for itself to fear, that it might have opportunity to exhibit strength and adopt summary measures—a policy which delighted in seizing papers, imprisoning writers, libelling virtuous, upright men, and carrying all things with a high hand—a policy which, contrary to all the laws of nature and of geography, assumed that because the Ionians were under British Protection, they must therefore have undergone some radical change, which divested them of all sympathy with the Greeks, their brethren in religion and in language—a policy which, therefore, delighted in insulting the natives of Greece, and, as far as

possible, isolating the Ionians. Such was the policy of Sir Howard Douglas. Yours has been not an imitation, but an exaggeration of it. He threatened the possibility of martial law: you have proclaimed it. He dreamt of a Philorthodox Society and a conspiracy of a "universal and fraternal Greece"—you profess to have found it with the king of Greece at its head; he bearded the Greek Government, and dethroned the Patriarch of Constantinople—you have insulted the Sovereign of Greece. He seized papers and imprisoned writers—you did the same, but with greater force, and with the addition of twenty-one hangings and shootings, with floggings innumerable. He branded peaceful citizens as seditious, for saying what they thought—you denounce a whole community as disaffected, because having nothing to tell, they have told nothing. Sir Howard Douglas was gifted with prudent obstinacy—you can boast of a vigorous indiscretion.

My hope, however, is, that after a Commission of inquiry, a vote of censure on your conduct will emanate from the House of Commons, and that justice will thereby be done to an injured and outraged country.—I am, Sir, &c.,

AN IONIAN.

*Frechtheum Club, St. James's Square,
Feb. 2, 1850.*

No. IV.

*To the Right Honourable Earl Grey, Colonial Minister, on the
Recent Despatches of Sir H. Ward.*

MY LORD,—The papers on the state of Cephalonia and the punishments inflicted there by command of the Lord High Commissioner are closed by a letter from your Lordship, in which you characterize Sir H. Ward's despatch, headed "Private and Confidential," of the 22nd of February, as a "complete vindication of his conduct and of that of Her Majesty's troops under very trying circumstances." (p. 95.) Your Lordship also tells Sir H. Ward:—

I cannot help thinking that you attach undue importance to the anonymous calumnies which you answer; I believe in this country their contemptible character has been perfectly well understood; nor could any man of common intelligence believe, upon the unsupported assertion of an anonymous writer in a newspaper, that you had been guilty of the wanton barbarity imputed to you, or had found in the officers and soldiers of the British army, which has always been no less distinguished for its humanity than its valour, the willing instrument of such atrocities.

This, my Lord, refers to my communications to the *Daily News*, signed "An Ionian," and, therefore, with your Lordship's permission, I must still, as "An Ionian," answer it.

I have no doubt, my Lord, that the Colonial-office has found it exceedingly unpleasant to have its usual tranquillity disturbed by these unusual inquiries respecting Ionian matters, and that the more

than usual interest taken in them by the English public has become very troublesome. But, on my part, I consider that I have done only my duty, both as an Ionian and an Englishman—the first, in thus dragging into light the barbarous cruelties inflicted upon the Cephalonians; the second, in making known to the public in this country the hitherto unheard-of savage proceedings, the floggings, shootings, and hangings, in violation of all law and justice, which were carried out under the instructions of the Lord High Commissioner by Her Majesty's troops in the Ionian Island. What, my Lord, after twenty-one hangings (p. 62) by court-martial, and without law, after sixty-eight trials and not one acquittal (p. 87), after ninety-six floggings without even a court-martial (p. 68), (one of them fatal) (p. 75)—I take Sir H. Ward's own statement, my lord; where the causes of punishment are stated, ten have been manifestly wrongfully punished (p. 74)—after the brutal revenge on stocks and stones, of razing a criminal's house because he could not be captured (p. 16), after the firing and pulling down of nine houses in one village (p. 88) (the officer, Major King, says he did not fire or pull down any houses “after the owner was executed, or returned to his village, or even accounted for”) (p. 88); when, my Lord, I saw accredited reports of these most flagrant acts of tyranny, carried on in a terror-stricken (p. 8) and unresisting peaceable (p. 11) community, when there was no law known in Cephalaria but the gibbet and the cat, no visible forms of justice but Sir Henry Ward and the hangman—when I knew that

the universal outcry in the Islands was re-echoing through Europe—was I, an Ionian, most fortunately resident in this country, any longer to allow all knowledge of these flagitious acts of misgovernment to be smothered and kept secret in the archives of the Colonial-office, and what is more, sanctioned by your Lordship's approbation (p. 93), and vaunted as "admirable," meritorious, before the Legislative Assembly of my countrymen (p. 61)? No, my Lord; to my individual exertions you will owe the inquiry which must ensue. The *Official Gazette* of Corfu, which told us of the executions, concealed all mention of "the minor punishments" (p. 19), of flogging without trial, the flogging of prisoners for speaking to each other, though confined in the same room; of witnesses, for giving evidence not palatable to the court; of one man, for not giving up the key of his house; and of two others, for not being at home when their houses were broken open; there was not a word of the burnings in the villages (p. 38), or of the banishments in the *Gazetta* of the Ionian Government; but I found it all in the Ionian Newspapers, and in those of continental Greece. Let me quote one passage, my Lord, as a specimen of the public feeling on the point. It is written by a Cephalonian, and addressed to the *Patris* Newspaper of Corfu, conducted by some of the most learned, intelligent, and moderate men of the country, men whose position is so high that they can speak the truth, without Sir H. Ward daring, in their case, to exercise the powers of the high police, and banish them to distant rocks (p. 12).

There is none, not even the least exaggeration in what has been published in the two articles that have appeared in that valuable journal the *AIΩN*, entitled "The Martyrdom of the Cephalonians." We are the witnesses of its truth, and we swear by the sacred name of our country, by our blood so unjustly and inhumanly poured out, by those ferocious and pitiless stripes which tore our wretched flesh, that nothing has been set forth but what is strictly a record of the truth, that nothing has been written or represented but things universally known and acknowledged by all, and that much has been omitted, besides, of the same inhuman and sanguinary nature. Believe me, Mr. Editor, of the 300 and upwards who were flogged, but very few underwent that inhuman punishment after examination, and the rest without any accusation or investigation. — *Patris*, Nov. 17, 1849. *Daily News*, Jan. 3, 1850.

The correctness of this is proved by the evidence of the Blue Book before me, which gives ninety-six as the number of floggings without court-martial (p. 69), and twelve as the number with court-martial (p. 87). Large as is the number of floggings stated by the writer in Cephalonia, I have reason to think it is not overstated, in spite of the returns in the despatches; for I know that an officer at that time on service in Cephalonia, but now in this country, on being asked in society, by a high military officer, whether there was not much exaggeration in these floggings in Cephalonia? replied, "I cannot say whether three or four hundred, but I can affirm that my company alone flogged more than one hundred."

Of all this, nothing had been made known in this country. The bombastic and braggadocio proclamations of Sir H. Ward were all that had appeared; the applause of his listening Senate (of his own

creation), the compelled assent of his former Legislative Assembly, and her Majesty's "entire approval" (through your Lordship) "of the energy and judgment with which you had successfully devoted yourself to the suppression of these deplorable atrocities, her full sense of the admirable conduct of the troops, &c.;" which latter I take as merely formal, seeing that had your Lordship sent us over a Domitian, or a Dionysius, or a Sancho, instead of Sir H. Ward, you must equally have applauded his tyrannies, his executions, or his vagaries; and taken his representations for facts as in this instance; and stood by him, right or wrong, to the last, having once sent him out—such being the rigid etiquette of the Colonial-office, as Lord John Russell testified with Sir Howard Douglas, and your Lordship has already had to do in the case of almost every Colonial Governor whom you have appointed.

Under these circumstances, perceiving that the Greek Papers that reached this country were lying at the Clubs unread save by one person in a thousand, either from the supposed difficulty of understanding the modern Greek, or that what was written in Italian was unimportant, I made it my duty to translate and publish their accounts of what was going on in Cephalonia, with such comments as my knowledge of the persons and places interested, the powers of the Lord High Commissioner, the long recorded and unredressed wrongs of the Ionians, the anomalies of their Constitution in practice; the egregious misuse of their finances, and the absolute "Bureaucracy" which domineered over them and

the Government itself; now succeeded by a money-ocracy of English capitalists in the Ionian Bank, enabled me to furnish as illustrations of these passing events and elucidations of their causes to the English public, who were, until now, entirely without knowledge on the subject. In so doing, I have had to speak in strong language of the conduct of Sir H. Ward (*Daily News*, January 3, 1850), but I have, throughout, sedulously disconnected the man from the Lord High Commissioner, and on more than one occasion have pointed out that the faults, the follies, the crimes of his administration have been caused not by his own disposition, but by the circumstances of absolute Power by which he is surrounded, owing to the vicious system of the Ionian Constitution and its tendency to exaggerate every bad, vain, and ambitious quality in the human mind. (Ion. Const., art. 4, sec. 2, c. 7.) You are pleased to speak, my Lord, in disparaging terms of my being an “anonymous correspondent.” No correspondent of a Newspaper is anonymous. During my long experience here I have learnt that it is a *sine qua non* for every correspondent to give his name previous to the insertion of his communication—that his name and position may so be a guarantee to the conductors of the Paper for his statements. This assertion, therefore, is invidious on your Lordship’s part, the more especially as Sir H. Ward is well acquainted with the name of the writer; and I had already addressed your Lordship on the subject of the Ionian Islands in forwarding the pamphlet to Dr. Zambelli; my name also being

well known to your Lordship's colleagues—to Lord Palmerston, with whom, in 1840, I had been in correspondence on the conduct of Sir Edmund Lyons at Athens, and to Lord John Russell, to whom it was my duty more than once to address myself on behalf of my countrymen, while Sir Howard Douglas was exercising an arbitrary *régime* similar in nature, though not equally cruel and sanguinary with that of Sir H. Ward in the Ionian Islands.

Whether I have promulgated “calumnies” I must leave to every impartial reader of the “Papers and Despatches,” which have been published, not in refutation (for that is not attempted), but in extenuation of my statements in the *Daily News*, to judge. Whether those statements are “contemptible,” or such as “any man of common intelligence would believe,” can be best estimated by the fact of the publication of these returns, on the motion of a member of the House of Commons, Mr. Hume; the accredited support which these statements have received in the Newspapers; from the additional testimony of Lord Charles Fitzroy, who had himself held office in the Ionian Islands; from the “confidential despatch” of Sir H. Ward, written expressly to contradict, or rather explain and extenuate them, previous to the subject being mooted in Parliament, from the “book of 200 pages” previously published by the Lord High Commissioner in the Ionian Islands in answer to similar statements made in Greece and the Islands—and last, not least, from the manner in which they have been taken up by the Press of this country,

which not only animadverted upon them previous to the publication of the official papers, but have, since the appearance of Sir H. Ward's "confidential Despatch," his official documents, his returns, and the closing stamp of your Lordship's declaration of these returns being "a complete vindication of his conduct," have, I say, even in the face of all these, reasserted those facts as true, and awarded their judgment, in consequence, against Sir H. Ward in the most indignant terms. But my assertions are "unsupported." How? Had I not as good means of intelligence as your Lordship? The same steam-boat that conveyed your Despatches brought the Greek newspapers. Are not the *Patris* and the *Athenæ* as good authorities as Sir H. Ward, as Major King, as Colonel Trollope, and Captain Coote? If there be any suspicion of party feeling or partisanship, does it not equally cling to the banishing Lord High Commissioner, the fire-raising Major, the hanging Colonel, and the flogging Captain—all of whom had their doings in hot blood to defend in their cooler moments of reflection before their countrymen, naturally wondering at such a savage style of warfare. "Where are the killed and wounded soldiers?" asks the whole of England. "Here are the hanged and shot, the flogged, the list of houses burned and pulled down—the number of banished, the record of those imprisoned and released without accusation (p. 59); here are the full denunciations of spies, whose criminalities we publish, though we deny the accused, by pretence of a mock amnesty, the opportunity of replying to

them by a trial and acquittal. Those we have no evidence against we pardon. Those we have we hang." This is the reply of Sir H. Ward. Such support, indeed, my assertions have not, but I have all the German and Italian press, all the Greek and all the Ionian Newspapers, without exception, and their numerous correspondents—men, the very peril of whose speaking is the seal of truth—and there are few men, my Lord, who would not sooner adopt the representations or public events of the *Daily News*, the *Times*, and the *Morning Chronicle*, than the reports of their officials, who hear only one side, and receive only a made-up story, supported too often by cleverly-fashioned, I will not say falsified, evidence.

But it has become my duty, owing to your Lordship's expressed opinion of my labours on behalf of my country, to prove to the public that the statements I have made against the conduct of Sir H. Ward are essentially correct. This I shall endeavour to prove from the "Papers" published in his defence, and, if for no other reason than that one acknowledged murder has been committed, that of the man Georgantine, who died after a flogging, without Court-martial or trial (p. 75). I trust that for the honour of England a Commission of Inquiry on the spot will prove to the Ionians, and the Greeks generally (the latter of whom at present stand much in need of some such proof), that the right of the strong to crush the weak is not the only Law of British Power. This Commission of Inquiry will also enable me to show how much

under the truth have been the charges I have most unwillingly felt it my duty to make against Sir H. Ward.

Myself of the same politics as your Lordship, I deeply regret that I should have to address you on so very painful a subject as the disgrace of the name of British Protection by tyranny and inhumanity on the part of a liberal Lord High Commissioner, from whose appointment we had reason to expect so many advantages. But no party feelings, my Lord, no etiquette of office, should protect such policy—indeed, I should feel inclined to call up against it that anathema which Sir H. Ward—thinking himself not sufficiently armed with the high police, the musket, the gibbet, and the cat—invoked from the Archbishop of Cephalonia against all persons giving food or arms to Vlacco and his followers, and which your Lordship will find at length in page 14 of the “Papers.”

We hold them, as well as the robbers themselves, excommunicated by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; by the one Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ; by the 318 Godly-inspired fathers; may they be trembling and sighing upon the earth like Cain; may the earth be rent and swallow them, as she did Yosé, Dathan, and Aveiron; may they inherit the leprosy of Giczy, and the gallows of Judas; let iron and stones be dissolved, but they never be dissolved, and remain like Tympanoes; not only the robbers themselves, but also who would give to them, as already said, refuge, provisions, arms of any kind, gun-powder, and bullets.

What I have given above, My Lord, are but a few of the methods adopted to repress in Cephalonia what was at the worst but an agrarian riot of

peasantry against landlords and money-lenders, which it was but an after-thought to inflate into an insurrection. The landing upon Scala, which was about equivalent to a storming of Broadstairs, appeared, doubtless, in the first moments of his flurry, great exploits to the civilian Sir Henry Ward; but that, after the people were quieted by the appearance of the soldiery, and those who had been forced to join the mob, by terror, had retired (p. 11), any person in authority should issue such a sanguinary manifesto as the following, and allow it to be followed up by the terrors of martial law, is indeed most surprising:—

It being now nearly certain that this infamous gang of marauders is in the Black Mountains, with its two chiefs, and it being most essential for the interests of Cephalonia that an end should be put as speedily as possible to a movement which is not more remarkable for the smallness of its means than for the greatness of its guilt, I have offered, on the part of the Government, a reward of 1,000 dollars for Theodore Vlacco or Gregorio Modaro, if brought in dead or alive, and the gallant Officer who commands her Majesty's forces has directed a combined movement to be made for the purpose of hunting them down. Your excellent Archbishop has not hesitated to excommunicate a priest whose garments are steeped in the blood of the Metaxa family, and if taken alive, he shall certainly expiate his crime upon the spot where the bodies of his victims are now buried, as two of his associates will do this day, the clearest evidence of their guilt having been obtained; his house has already been razed to the ground in the presence of the whole of the inhabitants of Scala; and one of the men about to be hung is the Abbote Eustachio Zapandi, Nodaro's follower and pupil, who assisted him in carrying the cross and in administering unlawful oaths.—P. 16.

This, my Lord, I submit, is the fee-faw-fum style

unworthy the dignity of justice and the calm self-possession of a Great Power. It is vengeance and not punishment—revenge and not law—a bad example to a people whom Sir H. Ward is pleased to denominate as “semi-barbarians” (p. 13)—a term, indeed, of singular reproach to a people who have been even for one generation under British management and Protection. One would have thought that the announcement of three executions, and the promise of two more, would have been sufficient for the Lord High Commissioner without further floggings; but it was not so—

“His great revenge had stomach for them all”—

and a continued blockade—the interruption of trade and industry at the critical moment of the currant-harvest (page 16), evinced his steady determination to punish the innocent for the guilty.

English people, My Lord, those who are not in the secret, as your Lordship and I are, have asked me how it was possible that such doings could continue in the face of public opinion? My answer was, that every Newspaper was suppressed, and that one editor who ventured to report (page 21) the shooting of the primate at Trojanata in a different manner from what suited the views of the Officer in command, and Sir Henry Ward, who heard a bullet whistle by him for the first time, was instantly seized and banished, without form of law or previous inquiry, under the odious authority vested in the Lord High Commissioner by the High Police (page 19).

Again, I have been asked what was the verdict of the Coroner's jury on the body of the man who died of the flogging without trial or court-martial? (Page 75.) My answer was, that we have unfortunately no such institution in the Islands, and that the Commission of Inquiry which we expect from this country must be our Coroner's inquest, where the evidence of Cephalonian medical men, in addition to that of the English military surgeon, may be taken on this point, as well as on the number of deaths from military flogging, which may not have come under the notice of Dr. Bone, or it may not have been thought desirable to enumerate.

But why not petition the Queen? I must leave it to you, My Lord, to explain what a farce is this petitioning from the Ionian Islands—to tell how each petition must be sent through the Lord High Commissioner, of whom it complains, and who accompanies it with his own statement of the case, and, it may be, some such flippant observation as I find in page 31: “Signor Zervò has been banished again, and your Lordship will probably receive a memorial from him by the next mail, complaining of the injustice with which he has been treated,”—all of which, it is well the English public should know, the Colonial Secretary is bound by the etiquette of his office to accept as the true version of the case, and to take no notice of the petition accordingly. Hence, while no one on the spot dares to speak, it is useless to remonstrate at a distance. What, then, remains to the Ionians?—what to the relations of the murdered Cephalonians—but an

appeal to the public opinion of Great Britain through the Press—an appeal forcibly expressed and adequately sustained, until the attention of the British Legislature is aroused, and, for the honour of England, in the face of the outcry of all Europe against the cruelties of her Representative, a Commission of Inquiry on the spot shall be granted, and the guilty parties subjected to the condign punishment of the reprobation of their countrymen.

This, my Lord, is the task I have set myself to carry out, and I do not despair of even your Lordship's co-operation when, apart from official considerations, your conscientious desire to arrive at the truth shall lead you to a further investigation of these "Papers," and you find the following to be the results of the charges I have made, as proved from their internal evidence:—

CHARGES.

Twenty-one executions—admitted (pp. 12, 19).

Floggings without trial—admitted to the number of ninety-six (pp. 68, 69).

Banishing editors of newspapers without trial—admitted (pp. 12, 19).

Firing and pulling down houses—admitted (pp. 70, 88).

Of declaring the whole Island in a state of blockade for the crime in one small district, and an embargo on all vessels, as well as seizing and sinking all the small boats—admitted (p. 18, par. 15).

Of proclaiming martial law because two brigands could not be captured—admitted (p. 18. par. 2).

I have the honour to be your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,

AN IONIAN.

*Erechtheum Club, St. James's Square,
March 16.*

No. V.

To the Editor of the "Daily News."

SIR,—It may be remembered that the statements which appeared from time to time in your journal regarding the outrages committed under the orders of Sir H. Ward in Cephalonia were repudiated by Earl Grey as "anonymous," and declared by Sir H. Ward himself, in what he thought an incontrovertible reply, to be "exaggerated." To both these charges I replied sufficiently at the time. I am now, however, enabled to bring these atrocities of arbitrary power again before the notice of the British public, as set forth in a public memorial addressed to the Legislative Assembly of the Ionian Islands by M. Zervò, who was elected Representative of Cephalonia against every possible opposition of Sir H. Ward's creatures. They are, therefore, no longer "anonymous," being proclaimed by the Cephalonians through their representative; and that they are not "exaggerated," he declares himself ready to prove

by numerous witnesses before the Commission of Inquiry which he demands.

This memorial, of which I furnish you with a brief extract below, has been printed in the form of a pamphlet, and is largely circulated wherever the Greek language is spoken. That such statements—such facts—should be unanswered and uninquired into, would be so great a disgrace to the honour of the English name—that I cannot regard it as possible. There is the book—there is the printed record against Sir H. Ward throughout Europe. He can no longer speak of the passiveness of the Cephalonians as evidence of his humanity—nor of the assent of the Ionian Legislative Assembly as an approval of his measures. The one comes, bleeding, to show her wounds to her assembled countrymen; the other loudly commiserates the piteous appeal, and vehemently protests against the outrage.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

AN IONIAN.

*Erechtheum Club, St. James's Square,
June 15, 1850.*

Extract from the Memorial addressed by M. Zervò,
Representative of Cephalonia, to the Ionian
Legislative Assembly.—Pages 23 and 24.

The number of persons hanged exceeded forty, of those who were flogged 400; of whom some died, others lost their senses, and others were rendered incapable of labour for life. The number

of houses burnt with all their furniture, &c., was thirty. Let me give some particulars :

At Scala, Basileus Zervò was killed in his own house. From Leo, two sons of Dionysius Metaxa were condemned, the one to two years' imprisonment, the other to be flogged. From Trojanata, seven were imprisoned and afterwards flogged. From Omale, Spiridian Gambis was flogged. From Faraclata, many villagers were flogged, and divers women grossly insulted and maltreated by the soldiery. From the town of Lixuri, Andrew Tzentzeris was first imprisoned, and afterwards banished to Cirigota. From Argestoli, and after the proclamation of the amnesty, Parentis was banished. From Mousakata of Samos, Gregory Gregoratos and two of his sons, Gerasimos Murikis, Elias Spathis, and Athanasius Andrew, and Panagi Michalatus, were imprisoned and afterwards flogged here ; at the same place was Victor Mecalatus led up to the gallows, and then cut down from it, because he would not give evidence of what did not exist, whilst his wife miscarried through terror. From Zerbata, Panagis Linardatus was tied up to be flogged, but released by the humane interference of a worthy Irishman ; in this same district, Elias Tremuntanis and also C. Anninos were taken up to the gallows and cut down. Finally, numbers of the peasantry from different districts were flogged, though suffering from sickness, and many of the venerable clergy threatened and insulted.

To fill up the measure of these barbarities, let it be known, that one tear let fall for those writhing under the lash, one whisper of disapproval, one simple groan, one visage of displeasure, one averted look, brought instantly upon the culprit a participation in the punishment.

Of the houses burnt—At Omala, the houses of Gerasimo Lazari and Gerasimo Galiatzatus, who had been out of the island for months. In the Faraclata village, the house of M. Bompoti. At Musacata of Samos, those of four of the Monzacadi. In the circle of Pylari, the temple of the Almighty was profaned, became a barrack for the soldiery, and the holy altar was made a table for eating and drinking. In other parts, especially about Lixuri, the soldiers and the police conducted themselves like the "Spays" did of old in Greece while she was a slave. They used the

houses like barracks, and, going where they pleased, were not satisfied with swallowing up all the food of the peasants' children, but—after the fashion of the Huns and Vandals—destroyed, when they had had enough, his poor chattels and household goods.

Who shall describe the sufferings of the poor that succeeded these wanton acts ; the naked and the needy, the widows and the orphans, who, shoeless and tattered, wandered in the woods and mountains, sleeping in hollow trees and caves, to crawl forth when day came, and go from door to door seeking help ! On the other hand, the sturdy, better class of peasantry were lying pale and half-dead, stretched at length, waiting the healing of their flesh, scored by the murderous lash ; while others, on their part, were totally deprived of the fruits of their sweat and toil, which had been swallowed up and devoured by the “friends of peace and order.” But these—which are but facts in all their barrenness, set down without colour or exaggeration—are accompanied by others that I should be unwilling to believe, but for the public testimony of the newspapers, and the evidence of many private persons, which confirms them. The disgrace of the lash or the gallows was not considered perfect without the presence of the parents, wives, children, and all the kindred of the victim as spectators. At other times the primates of distant villages and districts were summoned to be eyewitnesses of the punishments, that they might on their return home inspire terror and fear by their relation of what they had seen. Again, at times, the accused were sentenced, first to imprisonment, then to flogging, and finally to be hanged ; and sometimes, after being mocked and made sport of for some hours, and paraded as a spectacle through the streets of the town with the halter in their hand, and fetters on their feet, after a time they were delivered to the gallows. In brief, not seven houses, but thirty have been burnt ; not eighty-seven persons have suffered various punishments, but an innumerable amount. In place of a trifling injury done to private property by the outbreak, the substance of the island has been destroyed by revenge.

*To the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, Her Majesty's
principal Secretary of State.*

MY LORD,—In the year 1841, after the failure of Lord Charles Fitzroy's motion for a commission of inquiry into the administration of Sir Howard Douglas, two gentlemen from Zante and Cephalonia, who were in England at the time as a deputation from their Islands, to present an address of congratulation to Her Majesty on the birth of her first child, the Princess Royal, took occasion to address the then Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne, in strong remonstrance against the policy that had been pursued by Sir Howard Douglas in governing the Ionian Islands, a course which I, as an Ionian resident in England, find myself under similar circumstances as regards the late motion of Mr. Hume, compelled to follow now in addressing your Lordship.

During the discussion on that motion of Lord Charles Fitzroy, your Lordship, as Secretary for the Colonies at the time, availed yourself of the opportunity to caution the House against appointing any such Committee, because, as your Lordship said, "these Islands were not a colony under the direct dominion of the Crown, but a State constituted by Treaty, where Her Majesty exercised her authority under the title of Protectress."

By this official privation of any direct authority to whom we can appeal, or from whom we may demand redress—by thus constantly compelling us

to hunt after some unsubstantial shadow in the Colonial-office, which we can never grasp, it is, it appears, wished to wear out our patience, and compel us either to submission, or to some such an insane outbreak as may serve to justify violently repressive measures on the part of a Lord High Commissioner, and terrify the aggrieved into silence. We are told that we may petition the Queen. Say rather that we may petition Earl Grey. And who is the bearer of this petition? The very man whose conduct we criminate. Who to bear testimony as to its merits? The same Lord High Commissioner of whom it complains. To such an excess is this absurdity carried, that were I myself to entertain an intention of petitioning Her Majesty or the House of Commons, I should have in the one instance, as an Ionian, to send my petition first to Sir Henry Ward at Corfu, and in the second, perhaps, have that petition repudiated, as coming from an Ionian, and, therefore, not to be received direct, or rather, as not coming within the province of the House of Commons, according to your Lordship's declaration just quoted. This was actually the case in the instance of the deputation from Zante and Cephalonia—who were required by the Colonial-office to return home, and send their congratulations for Her Majesty to Lord John Russell, through Sir Howard Douglas. The Deputy from Zante, however, at my suggestion, "took the bull by the horns," as your proverb says, and, having waited at the office of the Lord Chamberlain, was recognised with the greatest courtesy by the gentleman in attendance; so that, being duly

received by Her Majesty, he performed in person his grateful office of delivering the first congratulatory address ever received in the Greek language by a British Sovereign.

Apart from such little rigidities of office, your Lordship at that period, as Secretary of the Colonies, evinced a sense of the justice due to the Ionians, and an appreciation of the privation of rights under which they suffered—opinions which, as Prime Minister, you have found it convenient to disavow. To you, then, my Lord, by the indifference of the House of Commons to our sufferings, we are now compelled to appeal, since, to send petitions to the Colonial-office is to complain to a husband against his wife. What Sir Henry Ward does wrong, Earl Grey must stand by. He is the object of his Lordship's choice, who, however bad the bargain, must e'en make the best of it.

Time, my Lord, produces small change in the wrongs of the Ionians—Whig, Liberal, or Tory are the same when they arrive amongst us. With but a brief, halcyon interval—that of Lord Seaton—our story is one of violent illegality, despotism, and outrage. In 1841, the deputies complained of Sir Howard Douglas to Lord Melbourne, as follows:—

1. As to the wisdom of his administration, Sir Howard Douglas has so mismanaged the Ionian finances, as not only to waste a surplus of £126,000 left to him by his predecessor, together with the surplus revenue of the five years from 1835 to 1839, amounting to no less than £170,000, but also to involve the Islands in a debt of nearly £100,000, besides selling a large portion of public property.

2. Sir H. Douglas has interfered unnecessarily and unconstitutionally with the religious observances of the Greek church, and by so doing has impeded the education of the Ionian youth, which it was his avowed duty to promote.

3. He has encouraged proselytism, and thereby made the people reluctant to send their children to the public schools.

4. He has attempted innovation in our religious institutions, and on the remonstrances of the head of the Greek church against them, he, by false charges and intrigues, obtained his dismissal from the office of Patriarch, through a medium always odious to the Greeks, the Sultan of Turkey: the venerable Patriarch died in consequence of a broken heart.

5. He has refused the entreaties of the Ionians for a free press, and even denied them all permission to print, except at the Government press, and then only such books as had obtained the Government's sanction.

6. He has neglected to admit, even gradually, those just principles of amelioration which were shadowed forth in our Constitution, and embodied in Lord J. Russell's Despatch of the 4th June, 1840.

7. He has reimposed upon us the odious corn-tax, and thereby checked our trade with the corn-growing countries which surround us.

8. He has, throughout his whole administration, thrown every obstacle in his power in the way of an unrestricted intercourse between the Ionian Islands and the kingdom of Greece, and in one instance absolutely proclaimed Greece in a state of blockade, as far as regarded communication with the Ionian Islands, thus causing the ruin of many industrious families.

9. He has from the commencement of his administration until this very day kept the inhabitants of the Islands in a state of alarm by an idle dread of Russian plots and Grecian conspiracies to seize the Islands.

10. He has unnecessarily prorogued the sixth Legislative Assembly; the first time to the utmost limit of the time allowed by the Constitution, and the second time illegally and abruptly; and has finally caused her Majesty to dissolve it.

11. Without trial he has imprisoned the most respectable of

our citizens, and inflicted the penalty of banishment, also without trial.

12. He has persecuted and banished the most learned and venerated of the clergy for obedience to the head of our church.

13. He has dismissed persons from their offices, who had served their country for the last fifteen, twenty, and thirty years, for having refused to sign addresses in favour of his administration, or to go to the poll; and has dismissed others for even visiting some of their friends who were opposed to his policy.

14. He has refused to forward the complaints and petitions of the Ionians to her Majesty, on the plea of their not being written in English, although there is no law imposing this obligation.

15. He has allowed the use of the official gazette to an attack on private individuals, and has refused to afford them an opportunity of reply.

16. He has publicly pointed out citizens of the Ionian Islands as engaged in treasonable conspiracies; he has sent an armed force into their houses, seized their papers, which, after the lapse of many weeks, he has returned, not only without examination, but without either recalling the accusation, apologizing for the seizure, or placing them on trial for the charge.

17. He has studiously maligned the character of every person who has ventured to oppose his policy; accusing them of disaffection to the British Protection, of faction, intrigue, and treasonable connection with Russia, and in every instance when offered an opportunity of publicly proving his charges, he has evaded doing so, either in his public or private capacity.

All these charges were left unanswered, unproved, and unredressed at the time, although, as it appears by a letter from Lord Ebrington, dated July 17, 1841, the memorial was forwarded to your Lordship, as Colonial Secretary, by Lord Melbourne. What is the consequence of this disregard, this indifference, this neglect, this contempt of the Ionians? That in 1850 we find the charges 8, 9,

10, 11, 16, and 17 repeated over again in the long list of complaints now made against Sir Henry Ward. Nay, more, in reply to an attempt made lately by the Legislative Assembly to abrogate the oppressive privileges of the high police power, he has actually proposed to make a bargain for some modification of that shameful exercise of absolute power, in exchange for a surrender of the liberty of the press by the Assembly.

What avails, My Lord, to us the mockery of a Constitution, if, when we endeavour to exercise any one Constitutional privilege, to examine accounts, to diminish expenses, to devise remedies for grievances, or ameliorate the bad tendencies of ill-judged laws—if, I say, at that moment, the whole Constitutional machine is broken into pieces by the disruption of its mainspring, the Legislative Assembly? What avails that we have once more the ballot and free choice of our Representatives, if at any moment a dissolution can render such vote and election nugatory? You, my Lord, have known such a mode of Government, in Tory times, threatened in this country; and your life has been one continual protest in furtherance of the glorious principles of your illustrious family against arbitrary power, whether in the hands of a Prince or party. Consider, my Lord, I pray you, that those of the Greek race have an equal, inborn sentiment of freedom with Englishmen; consider that we are equally willing to gain and to maintain it with our blood—no less ancient, and persistent, and valorous in defence of, and in seeking after liberty, than that of the House of

Russell; consider, my Lord, that we equally groan and struggle under its privation, and that our remonstrance will be as unceasing as our moral resistance will be enduring, until our Gracious Protectress, who probably knows nothing of our sufferings, shall direct her Government to recall, and with terms of reprobation, Sir H. Ward, and any other Lord High Commissioner who shall in future, like him, exercise cruelty and tyranny towards us.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

AN IONIAN.

Erechtheum Club, St. James's Square,

August 28, 1850.

No. VII.

*To the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, in Defence of the
Ionian Legislative Assembly.*

MY LORD,—The feeling that has lately been so strongly shown in this country in regard to Marshal Haynau gives me reason to hope that some sympathy may yet be found for the Cephalonians, and encourages me once more to resume my pen in my country's cause. Knowing the high estimation in which your Lordship's opinion is held on all Constitutional points—I should be at a loss to reconcile the difference between the expressions made use of

by your Lordship in the House of Commons in the Ionian debate, on the 9th of August, and those which you so forcibly uttered in your Despatches to Sir Howard Douglas, of the 21st of December, 1839, and 4th of June, 1840—did I not consider that your Lordship, in that debate, spoke as Prime Minister, and but represented the opinions of Lord Grey, who, as Colonial Secretary, is your official authority, while in writing the Despatches and advising a greater and more liberal expansion of the Ionian Constitution and a free press, you were then yourself Secretary for the Colonies, could judge for yourself, and wrote and thought as Lord John Russell. It is the office that is changed, not the man—the difference lies not in the Ionians, but in the Minister.

“It might be all very well to talk of Constitutional rights and liberties,” such are the words I find in the reports of your Lordship’s speech of the 9th, “but these places were not like England and Scotland” (I wonder your Lordship had not added Ireland)—“and it was obvious that the principles of Constitutional Government could not be applied to those Islands in all cases, as they might be in Great Britain.”

Why then, my Lord, grant them a Constitution if it be a farce? Why give them the mockery, not the reality? Why encourage them, as your Lordship did in your Despatches, to hope for more? Surely this is the very argument of Sir Thomas Maitland and of Sir Howard Douglas! I am at a loss, my Lord, to know what peculiar aptness it

requires—what further education it wants—for a people, already free before Great Britain took them in hand—what more than ten years of British possession, or conquest, as Colonel Angelo would say, and thirty years' apprenticeship under British Protection—to enable them to comprehend, to appreciate, and to enjoy freedom of election, the right of managing their own finances, and of regulating their own legislature? Hitherto, my Lord, the Ionians have been wanting in no qualification for an equal share of liberty such as the happy Briton enjoys. They have had all but the liberty. Under the fostering care of Great Britain, they have done all that Britons do, though on a smaller scale. They have paid an enormous standing army, all the while being at peace. They have incurred a national debt, the money having been expended in useless and unprofitable extravagances. They have not cherished religion, nor encouraged education; they have put a tax on corn, because they wanted it brought to them, as an encouragement to importers; I suppose they have levied a tonnage-duty on their own vessels, because they required to enlarge their commerce; they taxed their own oil and currants, because they wished to export them; and heavily loaded with imposts their own salt, because the people could not live without it. As the child mirrors, in miniature, the features of its mother, and gives back smile for smile, the more lovely from its greater delicacy, so the Ionian Islands, in every part of their administration, reflect the peculiar blessings, so well known to Britons, which adorn the Government of the Protecting Power. We had

bribery at elections and corruption in the Assembly ; we had a class legislature and an assenting Senate ; we had palaces, and roads that led nowhere but round palaces—and placemen and pensioners ; as our income diminished our expenses increased ; the larger our debt, the greater our outlay, the more munificent our salaries ; and all went well, for nobody inquired except the few, who were chastised at once severely for their insolence. We had a Government Gazette especially to abuse those who opposed it ; while they were denied the privilege of answer or reply ; for a press did not exist in the Islands, but in the Government-house. Yes, my Lord, for thirty years, in a population of 270,000 free people under the rule of Great Britain, there was only one printing-press, and that was always locked up in the Government-house.*

Such and many more, My Lord, to say nothing of the High Police, were our qualifications for equal liberty with Englishmen ; and, under such circumstances, your Lordship recommended ten years ago that further Constitutional privileges should be granted to us.

Ten years afterwards we obtained them, but not without a compromise ; for Sir H. Ward took care to secure the choosing his own Senate, *i. e.* the right of choosing what he now finds it convenient to call “one branch of the Legislature.” And this Senate, by way of exhibiting his love for Constitutional doctrines, he at once selected from the minority of

* Colonel Napier, when Resident of Cephalonia, applied for a lithographic press, but the boon was refused.

the first Assembly elected under the new electoral laws! What wonder at the result; a collision between the Senate and the Assembly at the first opportunity? Nor will those who take into consideration the outrageous exercise of the arbitrary powers of the high police by the Lord High Commissioner in Corfu, and the monstrous cruelties perpetrated under his orders in Cephalonia, which were recent and yet rankling in the public mind, be surprised that the first meeting between the Assembly popularly elected and Sir Henry Ward did not pass over without at least a remonstrance on their part, and an attempt to prevent such doings for the future.

Your Lordship, however, without taking these matters into consideration, at once throws the blame on the Assembly. Now, suppose, my Lord, that the first reformed House of Commons had been elected immediately after the Manchester massacre, how would that House have replied to the then speech from the throne? Would their reply have been equally grave and as moderate as that addressed by the Ionian Assembly to Sir H. Ward? But your Lordship looks merely at the fact of a first reformed Assembly thus addressing the Lord High Commissioner, whom, by the bye, you represent most incorrectly as the author of their reform,—you look severely at the fact, and you omit to recognise the circumstances. Let what Sir Charles Napier has recently said be a warning to your Lordship. “Severity without a due consideration being given to circumstances, is not justice.”

Your Lordship made your charge against the Ionian Assembly in the following terms:—

A large amount of freedom has been given to the people of these Islands; Liberal Institutions have been conferred upon them, and I am sorry to say that their Representative Body have not shown a very just appreciation of the advantages which they possess. I am quite ready to admit that in the year 1839 I expressed an opinion favourable to the establishment of free institutions and of a Free Press in these Islands, and I am sorry to see that when they have obtained these privileges, they find nothing better to do than to forward an address to the Lord High Commissioner, containing a most violent attack upon him.

“The large amount of freedom and the Liberal Institutions” that have been given to the Ionian people may be summed up—first, in the freedom of the press; secondly, in the restoration of the vote by ballot, which they had formerly enjoyed under the Venetians; thirdly, in an extension of the franchise; fourthly, in the recognition of the right of the Assembly to regulate the finances of the country, and examine into the expenditure. It now becomes my duty to show to your Lordship that, so far from not evincing “a just appreciation of the advantages which they possess,” it is exactly for an endeavour to prevent these advantages being neutralized, that the Assembly has been attacked in Sir H. Ward’s despatches, and that it was abruptly prorogued as preparatory to a dissolution.

The address of the Assembly to Sir H. Ward was strictly within their Constitutional province. He had read them a schoolmaster’s lecture on attending to their duty, which he seemed to consider as confined

to discussing the details of such measures as himself and his Senate, chosen by himself, might be pleased to submit to them; they replied, much to his surprise, by a representation of grievances, indisputably, as your Lordship must acknowledge, one of the Constitutional privileges of a Legislative Assembly. In the exercise of these privileges, they asked for some explanation of the position of the Ionian Islands in that quarrel with Greece, in which, without consulting them, they had been made to play a principal part—they expressed their intention to readjust the financial system and examine each portion of it, so as to recreate the balance of the revenue as well as to repair and restore the dilapidated incomes of which the ministers of their church had been deprived. They required that “education should be national, gratuitous, everywhere equally diffused;” that the Codes and Procedure of the laws should be “revised, reformed, and recast,” as having, “from the numerous and sudden changes which the Ionian Legislature has undergone, kept the interests of citizens in danger, rendered rights uncertain, the sentences of the tribunals contradictory, and the administration of justice slow and complicated.” They complained of the Pension Fund, of the decay of the Ionian Marine, of the preference shown to strangers (Coricans and Sicilians) in all branches of the public service; of the concentration of employments in one class of individuals and families, and not unfrequently in one person; of sinecures; of the non-use of the national language; and wisely ob-

serve in concluding, that all these causes, combined, serve to generate that antagonism which the Lord High Commissioner, in his opening address, had, with a deprecatory significance, counselled them to put aside.

In all this, my Lord, expressed as it is in moderate and decorous language, I find nothing of that “violent attack on Sir H. Ward,” which you are “sorry to see;” nor can I trace in the whole of that address a single passage bearing such an intention, or having such a tendency, unless, indeed, the delicate ear of Power, hitherto exercised arbitrarily, absolutely, and almost, I may say, contemptuously, over an applauding Senate, an assenting Assembly, and a silent though indignant people, might detect, in the following expressions respecting the odious powers of the High Police, and its monstrous misuse, of late, in Cephalonia, some hitherto unheard and unexpected tone of remonstrance, the very utterance of which, in however bated a tone, betokened an unwonted audacity newly characterizing these newly-chosen Representatives of public opinion.

But principally, and as the chief desire of the whole Ionian People, to prevent in all cases the arbitrary exercise of power, the Laws which form the corner-stone of the Constitutional edifice must be strengthened by fresh enactments—we mean the Laws which guarantee personal liberty and the sanctity of the domestic hearth—in order to prevent for ever a renewal of the deplorable and deplored excesses of which the Island of Cephalonia has recently offered a mournful example.

When it is considered that this High Police Power, against which the Assembly thus remonstrated, is

one which enables the Lord High Commissioner to banish any man at his pleasure; to search any man's house, at any hour, without warrant; to seize his person and his papers, and then restore him to liberty, and return those papers without charge, trial, examination, or cause assigned; to proclaim martial law, and shoot, hang, and flog the citizens at discretion—surely, my Lord, it cannot be considered any very great stretch of the Constitutional privilege of a Legislative Assembly to represent grievances, if in so doing they asked for some modifications of this Law, the more especially when such an instance of its intemperate exercise, as that in Cephalonia, was fresh in their memory.

Whatever may be your Lordship's opinion as to this perpetual suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act at pleasure, Sir Henry Ward evidently felt ashamed of his position and power in this instance; for although, in his answer to the Address, he complained piteously to the Assembly, "Your injustice has wounded me sensibly," he nevertheless avowed his readiness "to meet them on the settlement of this question, if sought in conciliation and good faith." And he did so; for at a subsequent period, when pressed on this point, he sought to compromise for yielding to certain modifications in the "High Police Law," by demanding, on his side, that the Assembly should surrender to his tender mercies the Freedom of the Press!

Thus, then, of the four new "liberal Institutions conferred," of "the large amount of Freedom given," as your Lordship says, to the Ionians, of those advan-

tages, "of which you are sorry to say their Representatives have not shown a very just appreciation," the first was to be filched from them. Let us see what becomes of the rest. No. 2, the vote by Ballot, is so granted as to be left open to be rescinded by a majority whenever found inconvenient to the Government. No. 3, the extension of the franchise, is neutralized by the anomalous privilege granted to each Elector of giving to any one candidate as many votes as there are Members to be elected, so that, as Corfu, for instance, returns ten Members, any one Elector can give ten votes to any one candidate, and the hundred or more Government *employés* there can march down and give 1,000 votes to any appointed candidate, such privilege being professedly given to prevent the minority being swamped by the majority; —a rare Constitutional principle, certainly. As to No. 4, the right of the Assembly to regulate the expenditure, care has been taken to render this privilege nugatory as far as possible. The military expenses were fixed, beyond the control of any future Assembly, at £25,000 per annum, and the civil list at £13,000 per annum, and this out of a revenue which seldom exceeds £170,000 per annum. Well may your Lordship observe "that the principle of Constitutional Government cannot be applied to those Islands." Where such things are submitted to, Constitutional Government is impossible, and the privileges of a Legislative Assembly a farce.

But was this the interpretation intended to be put upon the Constitution guaranteed to the Ionians by the Treaty of Paris? Certainly not. I might

evidence your Lordship's own despatch of 1839, but that you repudiate. I might call to witness the repeated subsequent remonstrances of Count Capo d'Istria, who was the Representative of Russia in drawing up that guarantee. But he was an Ionian, and it might be said, however high his character, would be, from his patriotism, not an impartial witness. I will therefore bring to bear on this important point the unquestionable testimony of historical documents, and prove that when your Lordship tells the House of Commons that "it may be all very well to talk of Constitutional rights and liberties in the Ionian Islands, but those places were not like England and Scotland"—I will prove, I say, to your Lordship, that rights and liberties completely equivalent in every respect to those enjoyed by England and Scotland were what the Allied Powers (Great Britain herself included) intended and declared should be vested in the Ionian people by the Constitution which they have guaranteed to them.

In 1814, when victory and universal peace placed it in the power of the Allied Sovereigns to remodel Central Europe, it was resolved by them to unite her German States by a Confederation, and the sixth Article of the Treaty of Paris of May, 1814—an Article which fixed the destinies of perhaps the sixth of Europe—stipulates that the German States shall be independent and united by a federal league. On this occasion, it is remarkable, that all that tended to the support of Liberty and order against arbitrary authority was proposed or supported by the three

Great Powers—England, Prussia, and Austria ; and was opposed by the newly-created, and comparatively insignificant Powers, Bavaria and Wurtemberg.

In a record of these transactions, as they occurred day by day, preserved by Professor Martens, and published by him in six volumes at Paris, in 1816, under the title, “*Congrès de Vienne, Recueil des Pièces Officielles*,” I find in volume 1, page 101, the following passage brought forward by the Representatives of England and Hanover, which certainly defines with admirable clearness what the Great Powers intended by a Constitution :—

Those (treaties) which declare certain Princes to be Sovereigns do not thereby declare them to be absolute. The king of Great Britain is as much a Sovereign as any Continental Prince, but the liberties of his people support, instead of weakening, his Throne. They demand, therefore, that it be declared by a Law of the Confederation, that Representative Bodies be created in the States in which they do not now exist, and that their concurrence be requisite in the imposition of taxes and in Legislation, and that they be empowered to watch the administration of the public revenue, and to demand the punishment of public delinquents. In the present state of men’s minds, less than this will not produce content, or even tranquillity.

These were the words of Lord Castlereagh, as representing England. Times must indeed be changed, when a Castlereagh can be quoted as an example of liberality to a Russell. Nor was even Russia behindhand in the support of Liberal principles, for Count Nesselrode, in the name of the Emperor Alexander, declared his assent to the creation and maintenance of Representative Con-

stitutions as the guardians of Liberty and Property. "Germany," said the Emperor (*Recueil*, vol. i. p. 329), "will not enjoy tranquillity until the abuses of Authority are prevented, and the rights of all are fixed and protected by powerful and Liberal Constitutions."

Remarkable words, uttered thirty-six years ago! and I recommend them to your Lordship's most serious consideration, for assuredly the Ionian Islands "will not enjoy tranquillity until the abuses of Authority are prevented, and the Rights of all are fixed and protected by Liberal Institutions in full force."

I reserve for a future occasion a further defence of the Acts of the Assembly—Acts already sanctioned as within the pale of Constitutional right by your Lordship's colleague, Earl Grey. Nor will I be tempted at the present moment to go into the much-vexed question of Ionian Finance; but I am prepared to show to your Lordship, and the British Nation, that it is not from any deficiency of practical grievances in the Administration of Ionian affairs, that I have hitherto confined my pen almost solely to a recapitulation of the atrocities of arbitrary Power in Cephalonia, but from a feeling that there was something in those horrible outrages sufficiently astounding to arouse even the usually dull ear of a British House of Commons to the wrongs committed on a people, who, though distant and foreign, have yet a right to demand that the Protection for which they pay so handsomely, and have smarted so severely lately, shall be administered for them, if

not with justice and benevolence, certainly without cruelty.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

AN IONIAN.

*Erechtheum Club, St. James's Square,
Sept. 18, 1850.*

A Letter to the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, on the Dilapidation of the Ionian Finances, and the Attempt of Sir H. Ward to Destroy the Liberty of the Press.

MY LORD,—In my last letter, I took occasion to point out that your Lordship's colleague, Earl Grey, so far from agreeing with your Lordship that the conduct of the Ionian Assembly had been factious and revolutionary, had pronounced their conflict with the Senate, on the constitutional point, whether they or that body should be the judges of the eligibility of their own Members, to be perfectly simple and natural, and one of the ordinary incidents in the conduct of the Representative Institutions of all countries.

His Lordship recommended a compromise. Let us see how Sir H. Ward and the Senate (who have the power of passing laws, provisionally, in the vacation of the Assembly) have carried out this recommendation.

I have now before me the Act for this purpose. The remedies set forth are, first, that a list of the Electors shall be made up yearly; and, secondly, that the Regent of each Island shall also prepare yearly a list of the persons eligible to be Members of the Legislative Assembly.

A list of the persons from whom the electors may choose a Member of Parliament! What would the English electors, and the English House of Commons, say to such a proposal? It is, in effect, one of the old tricks of Ionian government, which always pretends to give the greatest share of liberty when it subtracts most. It is a return to the old system of "double lists"—of names chosen by the Primary Council and Lord High Commissioner, which used, under the old system, to be sent to the Electors for them to choose their Member from. The Regent is invariably the servant of the Government, and as such it is not difficult to understand the control which he will exercise over the list of "eligibles," somewhat after the fashion, indeed, of the old electoral lists, which, no matter who had died, or been born, or come of age in the interval, invariably presented for thirty-five years exactly the same number of Electors.

The Legislative Assembly, on its meeting, will, I have no doubt, reject this Law, and thus another point of collision will arise. But the Assembly was prorogued suddenly, and why? It had just rejected the modified law for the definition of those monstrous powers known as "the high police," by which the Lord High Commissioner considers himself author-

ized to arrest and exile individuals without trial or examination ; to enter the houses of citizens by day or night, and search them at his pleasure ; to proclaim martial law ; to hand over the people to courts-martial ; to administer sanguinary punishments, unknown to the laws ; to condemn men to flogging or the gallows ; in a word, to arrogate to himself an absolute right of life and death over the citizens, and to exercise a despotism as unlimited as it is intolerable. All these rights, so-called, of the "High Police," having been carried out to the extreme by Sir H. Ward in Cephalonia, the first reformed Assembly thought it their duty, at once, to define and limit this monstrous Power by a new Law. But when the measure had passed the Assembly, and had been filtered through the Senate into the mildest possible form of diluted modification, it came down from the Lord High Commissioner back to the Assembly, with a new string of still further modifications appended to the already amended Bill, each of them still further strengthening rather than weakening the hands of this odious and insufferable Authority. It was accompanied also with the following proposal, which I think the former Constituency of the quondam M.P. for Sheffield will read with some surprise :—

I watch with great anxiety the results of the experiment that was commenced in November, 1848 ; and I am fully convinced that if the Sovereign Protectress should renounce, on the request of the Ionian Legislature, any of the Powers which She now possesses, and if, for the sake of giving an assurance of security to the dwelling of the Ionian citizens, I permit the definition and limit, as well of those Powers in the Bill before me as of *those*

which were left undefined by the Constitution of 1817, these concessions will give me a just claim to demand in exchange that the Assembly agree to put an end to the uncontrolled freedom of the Press, which cannot fail to occasion great evils, if it be permitted to remain entirely free of all restraint, as it is at present.—Message from Sir H. Ward to the President of the Senate, Corfu, May 31, 1850.

The Assembly rejected a Law upon such a proposition, which, after the true policy of the Ionian Government, as I have pointed out before, affected to insure the Liberty of the People by destroying the Liberty of the Press. But it was not so much this rejection—no, nor any storminess of debate, or intemperance of language and deportment, which might have characterized the latter discussions of the Assembly—that gave occasion to Sir H. Ward's violent parliamentary *coup d'état* of a sudden prorogation, after the fashion of his great model Sir Howard Douglas; it was considered necessary to prevent the Assembly from coming to the vote upon two cardinal points—the first, on the expenses of the State: the second, on the parliamentary inquiry, demanded by a great number of Petitioners, into the monstrous and cruel outrages committed in unfortunate Cephalonia. To prevent these votes being brought forward, it was necessary to resort to some great stroke; and Sir H. Ward having once assumed arbitrary Power, no longer feared to break down all opposition to his will by this abrupt and unexpected prorogation. By this brusque measure he eluded, on the one hand, those important reductions in the public expenditure which the Assembly was on the point of voting; and on the other, he placed in

safety that mass of Government *employés* who enrich themselves out of the labours of the poor Ionians, and who spare neither abuse, nor opposition, nor intrigue, against all reforms that threaten to cut down their salaries and their sinecures. This *coup de main* of Sir H. Ward served, then, the double purpose of averting a danger that menaced himself personally, and of preserving to his Government a corps of auxiliaries and tools who have been always ready for its service. I know not, my Lord, whether, presuming on the usual assent of her Majesty's Council to all the acts of Senates and Lord High Commissioners, whatever they may have been in these Islands; I know not, my Lord, I say, whether he did not contemplate the ultimate dissolution of the Assembly, after having made use of the six months' prorogation to manage the election of men more supple and more easily managed. For this end, I know it was anticipated as not improbable that the concession of the Ballot would be revoked as impracticable and inconvenient; that the number of the Electors would have been reduced, and every exertion made to manage the new elections. But this has been prevented by the letter of Lord Grey, the plot has exploded, and a total *bouleversement* has taken place of the whole plan. "The Ionian Government," says Earl Grey, "is to be administered according to the Constitution." "It is, then, through the Constitution," says the Bureaucracy, "that we must manœuvre to keep the management of affairs and the expenditure of the public money in the hands of ourselves and our creatures."

How was this to be effected? The answer was plain. By adopting the same course as in the Electoral Law. Let the Senate do the business of the Assembly—which is just as if the Sovereign and a standing committee of the House of Lords were to carry on the whole business of the British Empire. But they like to work together without the Assembly. The Senate and Sir H. Ward can agree so well together! He first selects them to his wish, and then approves their suggestion. Financial reform is always popular. It must come at last, it can no longer be postponed. The Assembly was about it, but the Assembly broke up without perfecting their plan. Let, then, the Senate take it up, and let theirs be the glory of the new financial economy. So the Senate set to work briskly for this purpose, and came out with their proposal for a new Budget, almost before the sound of the sudden clapping to of the doors of the Assembly had died away.

But by what right do the Senate undertake this office? Simply this:—The Charter says, that “the Senate must approve the bills which the Assembly passes, before they can become Law.” Therefore, because they must *approve*, it is argued that they may *originate*! It answers the purpose of Sir H. Ward to elevate this Senate—which is, in fact, only a privy council—into a “Branch of the Legislature;” and he, therefore, vindicates—let me rather say, instigates—their pretensions. It is upon such fallacies as these, my Lord, that the arbitrary Power exercised by Sir H. Ward is based—and when he

is opposed, he throws himself back upon the Senate, and says, he must defend their privileges.

But your Lordship's colleague, Lord Grey, has read him such a lesson on these Constitutional points in his last Despatch, that I trust we shall shortly hear of a general change in the official management of this "Branch of the Legislature;" which, by the bye, has by no means shown itself an olive branch, in constantly seeking to seize upon, control, and wrest to its purposes the privileges appertaining to the Legislative Assembly.

It was formally established by a resolution of the Assembly in March, 1848, to which Her Majesty graciously gave her assent, that the right to regulate the civil list, or "ordinary expenses," should appertain exclusively to the Assembly, and that the concurrence of the other branches of the legislature should only be required in the case of the "extraordinary expenses." Sir H. Ward himself, in his speech to the Assembly in November, 1849, in remarking on the Budget then granted, avowed "that the Government of her Britannic Majesty, in consenting to this reform, has understood that it places in the hands of the Assembly the right of controlling the finances of the State, in a matter as absolute as the right exercised by the Representatives of the people in France and England." He also engaged himself on this occasion to prepare, before the dissolution of the then Parliament, a Budget so clear and detailed that the new Assembly would be able to give their vote on each item with a perfect knowledge of the reason for it.

Not only has this promise been eluded, but everything has been done to bring into dispute the very essence of this privilege of the Assembly—to reduce it, in fact, to a mere name. The Government actually came down to the newly-elected Chamber with a civil list, the exact copy of those that preceded it, and required this new Chamber, just issuing for the first time from the free suffrage of the Electors, to pass the Budget of “extraordinary expenses” in a lump, without order, details, or explanations. At an epoch of general distress, it was bold enough to demand £400,000 for the two years’ expenses; when, according to the most favourable calculations, it was not possible to hope for more than £363,000 of receipts in that period. The excuse offered was, that the Senate had not had time to digest a new Budget—such as would re-establish an equilibrium between the receipts and expenditure—while all the while it is notorious that, whatever the change in the *personnel* of the Senate, the Government and direction of affairs remained exactly in the same hands, those of the Lord High Commissioner and his secretary.

But the Assembly looked the difficulty boldly in the face. They said, “here is an annual deficit of £19,000 on a revenue of £156,500 yearly—with a national debt” (one of the glorious institutions, my Lord, which we owe to the Protection) “of more than a quarter of a million. Let us do what Sir Robert Peel did under similar circumstances. Let us supply the deficiency, and begin again with a surplus, just as when in Lord Nugent’s time, in January,

1833, we had a balance to our favour of £93,000 in our treasury. But as the country can bear no new taxation, and the poor Ionians have no incomes left them to be taxed, we will retrench our expenditure." And they did retrench—they cut down all the salaries—for a good reason, because they could no longer be paid, and they procured a surplus. But, in so doing, they touched the Senators' salaries. This was too shocking. So the Senators (the Assembly having been abruptly prorogued when they showed such a temper) set to work upon a Budget of their own, in which their own salaries and all the pensions, sinecures, and places, are left intact, while *only* the road works, public works, and improvements of the country are stopped, just as the miser saves his money by going without food. And thus they come forward with a Budget that barely covers the deficiency.

This proposal is received by Sir H. Ward with great approbation, and he offers to dock his own salary by £500 by way of setting an example to others. It is a quiet and convenient method of keeping things as they are, without public discussion, or an examination into the uselessness of so many officials, and the expensive encumbrances of so many offices. More than this—it provokes a new conflict, gives him a pretext for putting the new Assembly in the wrong, calling them factious, troublesome, quarrelsome, and enables him to avoid giving effect to their decisions. This new idea of regulating a Budget by correspondence is capital. The Senate writes a letter to the Lord High Com-

missioner, who writes an approving answer. Both are published in the *Gazette*, and the business is done. Two of the three "branches of the Legislature" agree; surely the one that dissents must be in the wrong. Retrenchment and economy emanate from the much-slandered Senate. What can be more popular? Only it is altogether forgotten or studiously concealed, that to the Assembly alone appertains the right of acting as judge supreme in all matters of finance. Your Lordship, who has made Constitutional points the study of a life, will judge what stand the Assembly is likely to make on its prerogative as regards this essential point; and I am happy to add that, if we may judge from his last despatch, Earl Grey will not fail to support them in the assertion of their just privileges.

It is time, indeed, my Lord, that the scandal of the enormous salaries, which exhaust the resources of so poor a country, should be removed. It is time that the remedy should be proportioned to the evil. It is time that not only a mere equilibrium should be re-established between the expenses and the receipts presumed and contingent, but also that the public debt should be put an end to, and that the humbler classes should be relieved from the excess of taxation under which they now labour. This cannot be effected otherwise than by the unsparing retrenchment called for by the Assembly. If it be said that, at the outset of its career, it has dealt too hardly with the first Budget set before it, your Lordship is not the man to misunderstand the meaning of such an intimation from a popular Assembly.

You will recognise in it a wish to express that the Ionian people have no confidence in the Government as at present carried on, and that they disapprove strongly of the present course of the administration.

This, I believe, my Lord, is the Constitutional method of expressing such disapprobation. In any other country such a manifestation would produce a salutary change in the policy of the Government. Alas! we have no Responsible Minister. We have but an arbitrary Governor, to whom opposition suggests disaffection, and who sees in a proposal for retrenchment only an expression of personal hostility!

I almost question whether it has ever struck your Lordship to inquire how this Ionian revenue is raised. Permit me to enlighten the English nation on this subject. The Ionian Islands export largely oil and currants, they are the staple production of the country, and what is more, every tax imposed on them re-acts again as a tax on this country, which is our largest, I might say as regards currants, our only customer, as they are bought up for the English market two years before they are grown. Now these staple exports of the country, currants and oil, are *encouraged* by an impost of $20\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. ! 18 per cent. as a duty, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for a road tax.

To use a familiar illustration, this is a tax of 20 per cent. on every Englishman's plum-pudding; and this is done by a Bill, entitled, "An Act for the encouragement of the Ionian Commercial Marine," which, up to the period of its enactment (1835),

had been *encouraged* by a duty of 1s. 1d. on each ton, a duty that continued until there were almost no Ionian ships to tax. Nor is this all. The export of wine is taxed 6 per cent., that of soap 8 per cent., and the tariff of duties on imports numbers 256 articles, at sums averaging from 1s. to 6s. In fact, there is not an article that the people want, or that a ship can carry, but what pays a duty. Neither pepper nor peas can comfort an Ionian stomach until sanctified by the hands of a Custom-House officer: from salt-fish to butter and biscuits, every edible article is heavily taxed. We cannot grow our own corn or beef, yet oatmeal is charged 2s. 6d. per Talanto, and salt meat 3s. 8d. The duty on cheese varies from 2s. to 5s., and even the comforts of British gin are denied to us, under British Protection, except under a heavy impost. Salt and gunpowder are prohibited articles, the first because the Government has a monopoly of the sale, the second for some indefinite reason, which, however, has nothing to do with the peace of the country, as might be at first supposed. We have separate duties, too, for separate flags; the British and Austrian being those of the favoured nations, while upon that of Greece—in some places not a musket-shot distant—an extra charge of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is invariably made.

I have omitted to mention that all goods declared for garrison use are exempt from duty, a privilege which gives much offence, inasmuch as the Ionians say that the British take all and pay nothing.

But after all, my Lord, these are matters of mere

detail. They must, we know, sooner or later, be amended if once brought under public notice, but it is with the principle that we have to deal. What, my Lord, I may ask, has been done for the Ionian Islands during the British Protection, from which so much was anticipated? What but Government? Now what in ordinary life should we think, my Lord, of a parent who for thirty years had done nothing but keep his child in order, had taught him neither to read nor write, had bound him to no trade, given him no employment? What wonder if he turn out captious, sullen, and wrong-headed, wilful, obstinate, and petulant, ignorant, conceited, and difficult of restraint.

Yet such, my Lord, has been the conduct of Great Britain to the Ionians, and from such consequences the natural genius of the people has alone preserved them.

But this Government—what has it been? That has been already told in the official records of thirty years, and the remonstrances that are to be found in the archives of the Colonial-office, and is summed up, with all its errors and its tyrannous abuses, in the crowning achievements of Sir H. Ward in Cephalaria. What is it to be in future? We have now a reformed Legislature, but the internal corruption of our Administration continues. The whole building has the dry-rot. The façade, it is true, has been newly plastered and whitewashed, but the timbers are crumbling to dust with a long-matured rottenness. The new wine, my Lord, has been put into old bottles. Our Assembly is elected

on a new system, but our other Institutions are of the old kind. They cannot co-exist with the new, and this attempt at an ill-assorted unity must cause inevitable convulsions. In short, my Lord, the law of progress acts as strongly in the Ionian Islands as you have found it to do in England. There is no finality in politics. The light has been let into the cellar, and the toads and creeping sliminess, the foul things of darkness, become perceptible. Look at our finance, the great pulse and leading artery of Government. What can be worse than its three divisions—military, civil, and extraordinary? The first, that of the garrison—£35,000 yearly out of £150,000—is a direct imposition, I can call it by no other name, committed by a rich and powerful nation upon a poor and weak people.* It is you that want

* “I look upon the extensive and useless fortifications now erecting at Corfu as a disgraceful infliction of a foreign power by force of arms—producing the most extensive injury to Zante and Cephalonia, which islands pay the whole cost, without receiving a single benefit. On the contrary, while Corfu is fortifying, Cephalonia is exposed to the attacks of any privateer that chooses to lay the towns of Argostoli and Lixuri under contribution. This capricious piece of folly has not one object, either Ionian or British; for it is clear to all men’s understanding, that the old fortifications at Corfu, which defied the British arms by land and sea during the whole of the last war, and which were only surrendered when Napoleon himself surrendered; works which, when defended by Frenchmen, laughed at our naval superiority, are unquestionably strong enough, when garrisoned by British troops and protected by British fleets, to sustain the assault of all the powers in Europe conjoined. The treaty which obliges the Ionian States to support 3,000 British troops, was made by men unacquainted with the resources of the Seven Islands. It is said

the garrison, not the Ionians. It is kept there entirely for British purposes. As well might you make the few inhabitants of Gibraltar, the Jews, the smugglers, and the liquor-shop keepers, pay for the troops that garrison that rock. We could do very well without a single soldier. It is not very probable that the Turks will invade us, or the Greeks hurt us; besides that, for the same sum we could keep up five times the same amount of force, and as efficient. Our mountain peasantry can be made soldiers; the inhabitants of our coasts are sailors by profession.

As for our civil list, it serves to pension, rather than pay, a host of English officials, who come to

these fortifications are intended as a substitute for the maintenance of this force. It is hardly possible to imagine anything more foolish than the idea of making these Islands maintain 3,000 British soldiers; and as to the substitute for this diplomatic blunder, it is almost below the dignity of common sense to dwell any longer upon it. The ruin of the Seven Islands by forcing them to pay 3,000 British soldiers would, at least, save England some expense, but the erection of the present new fortifications saves nobody. It is a downright piece of stupidity, which, although it ought not as yet to have produced poverty, will shortly wholly ruin the finances of the Seven Islands. No State can, without total ruin, apply above one-third of its revenue to military establishments in time of peace. The revenue of these States may be averaged at £140,000 sterling per annum; of which £50,000 is expended for troops, ships, and fortifications, and £57,000 upon the civil list. If ever such a monstrous state of finance existed in any country, and that country continued to flourish, there is an end of all calculations.

C. J. NAPIER.¹

¹ "The Colonies." Boone, London, 1833 (p. 481).

the Islands poor, live there comfortably in our sunny climate, and leave them rich. And how a lean ox can fatten on so thin a pasture, except it be supplied with the oil-cake of an official appointment, I cannot understand. This I know, however, that it is the general complaint of all Ionians that every possible situation is filled up with English; and that where the charter has left it open that the holder of a high appointment may be English or Ionian, indifferently, there is no instance yet on record of such an appointment having fallen to the lot of an Ionian! More than this—when the British troops first came into the Islands, the majority of their force was composed of Corsican and Sicilian regiments. Some of these foreigners have stuck to us like leeches; and moreover, not satisfied with dropping off when gorged, they got themselves naturalised, and entailed upon us their families as perpetual bloodsuckers. These are the favoured sons of fortune in the Ionian Islands. Though not English themselves, they have claims on English kindred, and thus a feeling has been engendered which I can only realise to your Lordship by suggesting what would have been the sensations of Englishmen had the whole German legion, after the war, been quartered in your public offices, filling up every department in Whitehall, Downing-street, and the Horse Guards, as clerks or principals, a pipe out of every window, and a moustache peering over every desk!

That is the condition of our civil list; nor is this confined only to the seat of Government, for, in

addition to our seven local Governments, and one general, we have in each Island, in addition to a staff of minor *employés*, two officers to do one duty, a Resident and a Regent—of course with two salaries; and it is amusing to see, in any threatened measure of retrenchment, how the Resident proposes to dock the Regent's salary, and the Regent the Resident's—each declaring the other to be an unnecessary and inefficient officer. For any information on this subject, my Lord, I can refer you to the Commander-in-Chief of India, Sir Charles J. Napier, whose return to this country in December will afford your Lordship, or Earl Grey, an opportunity of obtaining much valuable information on the administrative departments of the Ionian Islands previous to the meeting of Parliament, when I assure you the Government of these Islands will form a question not to be avoided so easily as in the past session. That gallant general was for some years the Resident of Cephalonia, and I may mention that, from his own practical experience, he proposed in 1822 a reduction of £3,000 per annum in the expenditure of that Island alone, a reduction which has never yet been carried into practice.

It is some time since your Lordship entered into consideration of the treatment these Islands have received at the hands of those sent to govern them. Recent events and discussions have, I doubt not, by this time convinced your Lordship that their Government can be no longer conducted on anomalous principles. Ten years ago, your Lordship, as Colonial Secretary, recommended a more liberal

administration in their behalf; which recommendation, to the extent of the franchise and a free press, you have seen carried out as Prime Minister. Our hopes are still based upon you. Nor can we do otherwise than expect that the full measure of liberty for which we have so long contended, will assuredly fall to us, in a ministry which boasts united in our favour the two great names of Grey and Russell.

I have the honour to be, my lord, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

AN IONIAN.

*Erectheum Club, St. James's Square,
Oct. 12, 1850.*

*A Letter to the Right Honourable Lord John Russell on the
Ionian Senate, as "Liberally Reformed" by Sir Henry
Ward; with a True Definition of that Body.*

MY LORD,—In the three previous letters I had the honour of addressing to your Lordship on the subject of Ionian Government and finance, I have endeavoured briefly to elaborate such an exposition of the Ionian Constitution as might prove useful to English Members of Parliament desirous of approaching the subject, in the next session, with a somewhat greater amount of knowledge of the facts than they have hitherto displayed. The working of that Constitution, with its recent modifications, is

displayed to us in a strong light by recent events; and, as much of the disturbance in the political atmosphere of these Islands has been occasioned by the pretensions put forward by the Senate and supported by the Lord High Commissioner, it may not be untimely if, previous to entering on a further examination of the proceedings of Sir H. Ward, I introduce to your Lordship's notice what I have no hesitation in pronouncing an unexaggerated account of that body, the method of its election, its conduct, and the results of its administration, executive and legislative, on the Ionian polity.

Throughout the parliamentary papers which have been published, we find one Lord High Commissioner after another perpetually meeting all objections to his method of administration, with "The Senate has expressed unanimously its concurrence in the measure." "The Senate proposed this;" "the Senate approved that;" "I have much pleasure in informing your Lordship that the President of the Senate waited upon me this morning with a vote of congratulation," &c.

The English public and your Lordship, who, amidst the encyclopædic requirements of office, may have little time for close investigation of details, and who may consider the Senate to be either a House of Lords, or a Cabinet Council, or both together, will be somewhat astonished on learning, that when a Lord High Commissioner speaks of a Senate, he simply alludes to himself under another name. The Senators are his puppets, and have not even so much independent substantiality as what Euripides calls

καπνοῦ σκιά, “the shadow of smoke.” He sends them a message; and his Secretary writes the answer to it. He proposes a measure; and forwards an address to himself upon it. There is not, in the case of the Lord High Commissioner and the Senate, even the “appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober;” for when the Lord High Commissioner would be moderate in his own praise, his Senate are always mad with an enthusiasm of applause. Would he be a High Policeman, they proclaim him a Dictator; would he feel tickled by a Bust, they vote him a whole marble Statue!

A great portion of the despatches lately published between Sir H. Ward and Earl Grey is taken up by the alterations suggested by Sir H. Ward in the proposed reform measures of his predecessor, Lord Seaton; by which alterations, subsequently accomplished, he was enabled to bring back the Ionian Senate to its original state of abject dependence on the Lord High Commissioner. With the method by which this was accomplished, and the unhappy results to which it has led, against which and “the difficulties usually attending a long-agitated question” (Despatches, p. 18), Lord Seaton recorded a warning, I shall deal on another occasion. For the present, it will be sufficient for me to show what is the opinion of this Senate among the Ionian people, and what their estimate of its functions under the new system, by placing before your Lordship and the English public the literal translation (which I append) of an article on this subject from the *Patris* Newspaper of Corfu.

This succinct exposition of the practice and principles of the Ionian Senate is written, if I am not mistaken, by D. Napoleon Zambelli, one of the Representatives for Santa Mavra—a gentleman on whose judgment and advice Lord Seaton, I have reason to believe, greatly relied in framing his reforms ; whom also he characterises (Despatch, Feb. 21, 1848, p. 1) as “one of the most eminent and respected advocates of the bar of Corfu,” and to whom one of the first steps of Sir H. Ward, on his arrival, was to place himself in opposition !

I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

AN IONIAN.

Erectheum Club, St. James's Square,

Nov. 2, 1850.

THE IONIAN SENATE.

(Translated from the *Patris*, Ionian Newspaper, of Sept. 14.)

When we say that the organization of our Executive Power is monstrous, we have no wish that it should be taken as a fact on our word alone. Were our journal addressed only to the Ionian public, we might, indeed, well dispense with any kind of proof. We see so near to us this hybrid power which has been adorned with the name of Senate, and which, up to this day, has been but an instrument of despotism, the accomplice or the organ of all those disgraceful acts of which our history during the last thirty-three years is for the most part composed ; we have suffered so much from the ignorance or servility of those called from time to time to a seat in this antechamber of the Government, we have been so many times the witnesses of this shameful market, at which a man prostitutes his conscience, betrays his country, and

sells himself body and soul to any one who pays him, that we have no need of proofs to convince us that so long as this corrupting institution shall not be rooted out, so long as this egregious absurdity, this insult to good sense and public morals remain uneffaced from our laws, it is impossible to hope for any amelioration or any progress, whatever may otherwise be the liberties or the franchises which it may please our protectors to accord to us. It is not, then, to our fellow-citizens whom we would offer a demonstration of this truth ; they are not the parties whom we seek to enlighten on the views of a power which has neither a name in science nor a model in history. It is our right and our duty to address ourselves to another public. It is our duty to plead our cause before the enlightened public opinion of the country that protects us, and in the presence of the Governments who, without consulting us, stipulated that Protection in our favour. Since we are refused an inquiry, since they will not look into our condition on the spot, let them at least listen to what we have to say. We will not speak of our Governor ; we will neither set forth our ideas nor our principles ; we will analyse the texts, and will let the facts speak for themselves. Let any one compare these texts and these facts with the Constitutional principles and the maxims which have always prevailed in the organization of public powers, and then let him decide. Let him judge if the Treaty of Paris has been rightfully interpreted and loyally applied ; let him judge if the Government that has weighed us down for so long a period could make a people happy ; whether its nature be beneficent or deadly ; whether, to say the least, it be worthy of the nation that protects us, of that nation which vaunts itself the eldest daughter of Constitutional Liberty, and boasts that it gives to the world the model of a Representative Government.

Our Executive Power is composed of a President and five Senators. The President is named directly by the Protection, for two years and a half, and is re-eligible ; the five Senators are named by the representative of the Protection for five years, and are equally re-eligible. It is true that, since the last change introduced in our Constitution, three of these Senators must be chosen out of the Representatives of the people, freely elected by

the electoral colleges, but it is equally true that with the two other Senators, whom he can take from where he pleases, and with the double vote belonging to the president, the Lord High Commissioner is always sure to have at his disposition a docile majority, blindly dependent on his orders and his will. But if the President should think of having an opinion of his own, and of giving to the body over which he presides a direction that may not be agreeable to his master, he has against him, besides the remedy of not being re-elected at the end of his two years and a half, the more violent and more expeditious one of a dissolution of Parliament, which necessarily brings with it the dissolution of the Senate, and the election of a new President. Next, as if it were necessary that all the Islands should take an equal part in the conclave, four of these Senators must always be taken from the four larger Isles, and the fifth from each of the other three minor islands in turn. The Senate thus constituted divides itself into three departments; of which one is the general department, composed of the president and a Senator; the other, the political department; the third, the financial department, each composed of two Senators. With the exception of this last, there is some difficulty in forming an idea of what belongs to these departments.

In fact, what is a general department or a political department? What is the political department that does not include finances? Or what is the general department that is not also political? Our Constitution, which amongst its other merits has that of setting everything forth with a clearness and order truly admirable, only defines the general department by saying that this department has under its regulation the minor details of the administration, and such affairs as require prompt execution. This definition, it will be seen, is very precise, and by no means insidious. On the attributes of the other departments there is not a word in the Charter. We shall be asked, perhaps, what becomes of those affairs which, even in the most absolute Governments, come within the province of distinct and separate departments, such as the affairs of the church, public works, the public instruction, &c.? We cannot say; for they are not provided for. Moreover, the police, high and low, and the sanitary regulations are entirely under the Lord High Commissioner, who has

also under his orders the armed force, and the direction of all our foreign relations. Besides these, for the public instruction there is a Commission, with powers the most monstrous that can be conceived even here, where monstrosities abound ; and, lastly, there is a political department, which is a reservoir so vast, a department so elastic, as to receive and carry on every kind of business. Each of these three departments has a secretary ; that of the general department can be either Ionian or English, and it is needless to say that he has always been an Englishman ; this is the gentleman who, by an explicit declaration of our constitution, “ informs the Lord High Commissioner of the daily operations of the Senate, and the reports addressed to it.” The Senate thus formed—this Senate, which is in substance but a creation of the Lord High Commissioner—which is elected for five years, and continues in office whatever be the feeling of the majority of the Chamber ; this Senate, which is our executive power, which is, at the same time, a species of upper chamber, as participating in the legislative functions, which, moreover, can of itself alone, during the vacation of the Assembly, pass regulations of a Legislative character, having the force of laws until the re-assembling of Parliament (which takes place only every two years, and then for three months only) ; this Senate, we say, can do nothing without the approbation of the Lord High Commissioner—nothing, even as to its own regulation, even as to the appointment of its own clerks and officers. And, as if there was a dread even of the shadow of a discussion with even so little freedom, the power of the initiative is given in all cases to a President, who has the title of Highness, is always a Knight Grand Cross of Saint Michael and St. George, and is comforted even now by a salary of £1,400 per annum ! The poor Senator is able only once in each session, and then verbally, to bring forward a proposition by permission of his Highness. If his Highness refuse him this opportunity, he can then, and then only, put it in writing, obtain the signature of another Senator, and send it up—always through the medium of his Highness the President—to his Excellency the Lord High Commissioner, who decides irrevocably whether or not it should be submitted to the deliberation of the Senate. We are copying almost from the text

of the Articles of our Charter. If, then, to the arbitrariness of its origin, to the nullity of its action, to the absolute dependence in which it is placed in relation to the Lord High Commissioner, we add the thousand links that enchain it by the arrangements of its internal regulation (which we spare our readers), every one must perforce agree that there could not be a greater despotism, and that it would be in vain to search history for anything more oppressive, more replete with mockery, or more degrading. If, lastly, it be borne in mind that the mover of all this machinery, the man who holds in his hands the strings that give motion to these puppets that dance about him, is one who is a stranger to the country, staying there a few years only, while a long apprenticeship is needful to disentangle the intrigues, to know the people about him, to study the wants of the country, and the means of satisfying them, to extricate himself from the snares of a Bureaucracy almost immovable, which has its creatures everywhere, and knows from afar what expedients must be put in operation to obtain any desired result; if this be called to mind, then, and then only, can an idea be formed what kind of Government is that of this country, which is free by Treaties and protected also by a people the most renowned for their Liberal Institutions. Behold, then, what is this Senate which they still so obstinately maintain—an institution foreign and incompetent, a hideous mask for despotism; the abject and infernal work of a despotic legislator of 1817, who, doubtless, thought that he could not more effectually carry out the Treaty of Paris, or better assure our liberty and independence, than by placing at the head of our Government this stage-trick, this mock Sovereignty, this phantom of a power, that has nothing real about it but the gilding with which it is covered, the cash which it absorbs, and the corruption of which it has been the source! In fact, is there, or can there be, a man who, whether through ambition or interest, or some other motive, may resign himself to play the part of Senator or President of the council? If there be a man so far corrupt, on entering on his functions he will become perfect in the art of serving; he will be a docile and obedient wheel in the machine of which he forms a part; he will pocket his salary in silence; he will repress every generous impulse in his heart; he

will efface from his mind every idea of country, as well as the duties that bind him to his fellow-citizens; and will console himself for the contempt which will ever after be his lot, and the maledictions that will follow him even to the grave, with material enjoyments, with the increase of power, and with those petty favours which he will occasionally have in his power to dispense amongst his parents, his friends, and his *protégés*. Should he be an honest man; if he possess noble sentiments and a cultivated mind, his heart will be every day lacerated by the depressing spectacle of his own abject condition and that of his country—a powerless witness of evils he can neither prevent nor hinder, of all the injustice, all the turpitude, which nestle in the dark windings of the bureaux of the Senate and the Lord High Commissioner—he will waste himself in sterile efforts, he will lose all boldness in his opinions, and will find himself at every instant placed in the pitiful alternative, either of continuing to endure without a murmur the martyrdom which is inflicted on him, or bring upon himself the anger of his masters and every kind of persecution as a consequence, should he adopt the extreme choice of at once giving in his resignation and retiring. These are the results, this the nature of the Institution. Believe it who may, what we have here set down is no work of imagination; what we write is a history, dictated by facts, *rebus ipsis dictantibus*: it is no picture of fancy that we have created; we paint it from the life. But when, in addition to the vices of the Institution are added the faults, the ignorance, the inexperience, the passions of the men to whom these functions are committed; when if it is considered that, with a few rare exceptions, the place of Senator has been almost always filled by men inapt or corrupt; by men rampant, greedy after money, or greedy for power; by individuals who, so far from having that special knowledge which is required in those who direct a Ministerial department, or that general knowledge at least which is obtained from good education, are sometimes so profoundly ignorant as neither to read nor write any language correctly. If it be considered that these places have been distributed for a long series of years among the same *protégés*, who, during fifteen years, have enjoyed, in their turn, emoluments of from £5 to £10 and £20 a day—if we

reckon up what this unworthy comedy has cost us in thirty-three years, during which we have paid for it nearly £20,000 a year ; if we reflect what must be the moral effect produced on a country by this spectacle of a Government without bowels of mercy, which devours the labours of the people and makes a gain of their corruption, which chooses its agents amongst the most insignificant or the most contemptible, and has converted the charge of public affairs into an ignominious market for the buying and selling of men's consciences ; whoever, we say, reflects on all this, will not wonder that we are so resolute to make this Monster vanish from our land ; he will not be astonished at seeing every branch of the Administration in such a deplorable state ; and he will perceive that the idea of a Radical Reform of this Constitution, which, in place of being a Charter of Liberty, is but a code of slavery and Machiavelism—he will find, we say, that this idea is no rash one, for it is the outcry of a people whose sufferings have been too great, and who have for too long been oppressed ; he will feel persuaded that a partial reform, a re-dishing up of the abominable work of 1817, so far from satisfying us, would only augment the irritation existing, and could but add to the embarrassment of a situation so false and full of danger ; and, if he be sincere, if he be sufficiently high-minded to throw aside all previously-formed opinions and prejudgment, he will end, it may be, in finding a sufficient excuse for the conduct of that party who, waiving aside every concession, believing no more in the good faith of the Protection, and waiting for or wishing for nothing from it, reduce all their principles and all their actions to a loud manifestation of the national feeling, and of the right we possess of reuniting ourselves with our brethren.

We ask sensible men of all parties, we demand of the Statesmen of England—even of those who were unwilling to seek information in the country, and from the lips of the oppressed themselves—is this position tenable ? Is it useful ? Is it honourable for the English Nation, for the English Government, for the Ministry whose boast it is nevertheless to be the declared champion of liberal ideas in Europe, the constant and intrepid defender of oppressed Nationalities and of the Liberty of mankind ? We wait an answer.

But if it be repugnant to the pride of the British Government to retrace its steps, to acknowledge its errors, and to repair them, if it cost too much to be just towards us, to permit us to live as free men, to have the management of our own internal affairs, and enjoy, in short, that Liberty and that independence which were guaranteed us by the Treaties of Europe, so be it, let that Government tell us so; let it frankly say to us, "*we see that the Government which crushes you is absurd and tyrannical, and we are decided upon maintaining it*: we see that liberty of the Press and freedom of Elections are irreconcilable with all the rest: we know that so far from being a cure for your ills, and causing your complaints to cease, they are but as torches fired by us expressly to enable you the more plainly to see your sufferings and your wretchedness: we know all this, and we will do nothing: we know all this, and, in spite of all Treaties and their stipulations, in scorn of humanity and of justice, we will hold you still in chains as slaves, and we will still continue to be your Masters, your ruthless masters, and not your Protectors." Let the British Government tell us this, and throw off the mask of hypocritical liberty; it will then show the courage of despotism, frank, open, and avowed, and we, then, can also take up our position, and make our choice between incessant protestation or silent resignation.—*Paris*, Sept. 14, 1850.

*To the Right Honourable Sir Henry Ward, Her Majesty's
Lord High Commissioner.*

"The Senators (the Assembly having been abruptly prorogued) set to work upon a budget of their own, in which their own salaries, and all the pensions, sinecures, and places are left intact, while only the road works, public works, and improvements of the country are stopped; just as the miser saves his money by going without food! This proposal is received by

Sir Henry Ward with great approbation: it is a quiet and convenient method of keeping things as they are, without public discussion. More than this, it provokes a new conflict, gives him a pretext for putting the new Assembly in the wrong, calling them factious, troublesome, quarrelsome, and enables him to avoid giving effect to their decisions. Two of three "branches of the legislature" agree, surely the one that dissents must be in the wrong. Retrenchment and economy emanate from the much-slandered Senate. What can be more popular? It is altogether forgotten, or studiously concealed, that to the Assembly alone appertains the right of acting as judge supreme in all matters of finance. Your Lordship will judge what stand the Assembly is likely to make on its prerogative as regards this essential point.—Letter to Lord John Russell, by an Ionian," *Daily News*, Oct. 16, 1850.

SIR,—The *Ionian Gazette* of December 2, 1850, containing your speech on the opening of the second session of the Legislative Assembly, and the intelligence of its second prorogation, reached me at the same moment. In the one I read how much you expected from the deliberations of that body; what grave duties in the work of internal amelioration—"The revision of the system of public Education, of taxation, and the removal of all burdens that press unequally on the people"—had fallen upon their shoulders; what a wide field of utility was open to them! By the other I learn that you have with your own hands strangled this child of promise, committed suicide on your own great hopes, and flung these grave duties to the winds. I look at your speech, and comparing it with this act of abrupt prorogation, as soon as you had got the money, I murmur to myself, "The voice is the voice of Jacob, but the hands are the hands of Esau."

Who, sir, can deny that liberal and statesmanlike as are your words, your policy in action is no other than that of Sir Thomas Maitland in the "good old Tory times?"—the administrative statesmanship of that very "King Tom," by which epithet you designated him to me, and deprecated his policy at the first and last interview I had with you, a few hours previous to your setting forth on your voyage to replace Lord Seaton. Like yourself, he always took care, on occasions of state display, to deliver, if not a long, like yours, a short address, full of liberality, legality, constitutionality, and insular statistics, not for his hearers (for he had the greatest contempt of them), but that his speech might be read in England and admired. Like you, however, he stripped off all his fine sentiments with his state robes, and with the aid of secretaries, senators, and the (then just nascent) bureaucracy, ruled us more despotically, because with less parental and personal justice, than an autocrat governs Russia.

With the sentiments expressed in your speech I, sir, for the most part, coincide. So correct an expression of the first rules of political grammar it is impossible to dispute. The wonder is that you considered it necessary to especially enunciate them at the moment with so much impression in an Assembly consisting of such gentlemen as the Chev. Mustoxidi, Count Roma, Zambelli, and other grave and wise men; but I have heretofore noticed it as a fault of a certain portion of the liberal school of England, that they must always, in discussing political questions, begin from the beginning, regarding

all people as ignorant except themselves. The contemporaries of Count Capo d'Istra and the compatriots of Mocenigo, Bulgari, Franzini, &c., could not but smile at the ex M.P. for Sheffield reading them a lecture, as to a company of youths raw from college. In the present instance I shall not imitate your Excellency's example, but confine myself to the subject-matter of the speech, as proving how shamefully the Ionian Islands have been, and are now, misgoverned, and what is required for the advancement of the social and political position of these States.

The causes of misunderstanding to which your Excellency alludes as having caused the prorogation of the first session of the Assembly, are exactly the same as those on which you appear to have grounded the second similarly sudden breaking up of the Legislature after bringing them together for six days. I allude to the proposal of a union with Greece by a small fraction of that Assembly, composed of nine members; but assuredly, the Assembly cannot be held answerable for the violent motion of any one, or any fraction, of its Members, else would the smallest minority always have it in its power to obstruct the progress of Legislation by the mere act of bringing forward an unconstitutional motion.

With the principle of bringing the dispute between your Excellency and the Assembly—I mean between the Senate and the Assembly—to an end, on the basis of “mutual forbearance and mutual concession, as recommended by Earl Grey,” no one can disagree. As you put it, it seems fair enough to all

who do not understand that the Senate, being one of the parties of the quarrel, was chosen by yourself to draw up a Law, after its own fashion, to settle the difference on its own terms; and to this you urge the Assembly to agree, because, as you say, the necessity of the case has already compelled you to put it into operation. That “preliminary examination” of a candidate’s eligibility, which you laud, is in itself a violation of the right of the Assembly to inquire into the eligibility of its own Members—which principle Earl Grey, in his truly Constitutional reply to the address of the Senate on the point, fully recognised as inherent in the Assembly. The rights of the Assembly you also acknowledge to be “indisputable;” how “indisputable,” if they can be violated at pleasure?

But the public are now aware, from the letter of a member of that Assembly, which I published in the *Daily News* of the 2nd of this month, and forwarded to Earl Grey, that the Assembly asked for an extension of their few days’ session, to consider these and the other important subjects submitted to them; and to that reasonable request, after all those fine expectations in your opening address, you declined to give even an answer.

The fact of your choosing suddenly to break up the last session, placed it in your power, as you tell the Assembly, to carry on the government at your pleasure, and pay the officers according to the budget of the session preceding, for which neither yourself, as you take care to tell us, nor the present Senate, nor the Assembly, are responsible; and you

would now throw the whole burden of future financial responsibility on the shoulders of the Assembly, taking care, however, that they shall not exercise one tittle of their constitutional jurisdiction ; for you force upon them a budget, ready cut and dried, concocted between yourself and the Senate during the forced vacation of the former prorogation.

But, sir, you express a conviction that the machinery of the Ionian Government “ has been too costly.” Are you aware what that confession implies ? To what an acknowledgment of cruel misgovernment, misapprobation of public money, and disguised peculation it amounts ? Know you, sir, what we have lost by the British Protection, as unfortunately till now exercised ? Of what you confess we have a right to complain on this point most especially, your brief experience of Ionian finance will appreciate the truth, to say nothing of the good taste of the following passage, which forms a part of an off-hand defence of your policy by a ministerial writer in the *Globe* of the 26th ult. :—

No power in the world so sets itself up to be shyed at throughout all its dependencies ; erects everywhere *parliamentary machinery* that it may be sure of being pulled everywhere by the beard ; and puts in the hands of every subject race English laws, wherewith they may gratify to the utmost the semi-barbarous spirit of chicane against English administration. If we are the best-abused people in existence, it is a comfort (or aggravation) to know that we are the people who pay best for being so—that we “ nurse the pinion that impels the steel,” subsidise aspersors in all latitudes, and support by our establishments centres of population, without those establishments insignificant, on which we then confer franchises and free presses, that we may

not risk missing the valuable knowledge of what the servants' hall thinks (or thinks fit to say) concerning the mistress's drawing-room. Such is Valetta—such Corfu.

As regards the “parliamentary machinery” in this paragraph, so equally precious in insolence and in ignorance, it is unnecessary for me to point out that we had it long before the English were ever known in the Islands, under the Russians (and the Turks as their allies). As to the “paying best for being abused,” the Ionians, unfortunately, and not the English, have suffered in this respect. It is they who “nurse the pinion that impels the steel,” and subsidise their aspersors. From 1818 to 1848, in thirty years, under British Protection, the Ionian population, not exceeding 220,000, have paid five millions sterling of taxes, and incurred a debt of a quarter of a million under British management. The foundation of this debt was laid by the equity of Sir Howard Douglas. Of this amount one million has actually been spent in the support of British troops, for British purposes solely, and one million and a half for the keeping up of a nest of functionaries, *employés*, and foreigners, whose services diminish in exact proportion to the increase of their salaries. Thus we had a whole staff of British officers for our militia, with enormous salaries, *and not one militiaman*. Sinecures innumerable, like that of the late Ionian Consul in London, who never during his consulship received a single Ionian in his house, or had done any service to warrant the £500 a-year wrung from the poor people in the Islands. Our money was taken to make a second Gibraltar

of fortifications already too strong to fear danger, and the whole of your “establishment” was not only paid, but pensioned at our expense. Your Excellency knew these facts well, and as an honourable English gentleman, of an independent party and liberal principles, are so ashamed of them that you are glad to say, as in your present speech, “that for the civil list such as formerly exhibited, you are not responsible,” and that “in so small a community the machinery was too costly.” Costly indeed! when it is considered that for thirty-two years past £50,000 per annum has been the only amount devoted to the positive internal exigencies of Government; the rest of the five millions and a quarter having been spent in the garrison, the fortifications, the salaries, the sinecures, and the pensions of the Protection. That your “establishment” has supported our Islands as centres of population, the whole tenor of your speech affords a denial. It tells us of commerce unadvanced; of a people stationary, while all Europe around, and proximate Asia, have sprung from past slumbers into vigorous life and action; while Greece, our mother and our neighbour, has broken her chains. That we were insignificant without you, let our past glories testify—let Venice, that cherished us as the apple of her eye—let Russia, who sought her best statesman from amongst us—testify; let France, that clung to Corfu for fifteen years, in defiance even of your own arms, and of which the conqueror of Europe used to write to his Representative Berthier, “*Conservez mon petit Paris*,” tell you—let your own

possession of an unwilling bride bear witness. That you have conferred on us "franchise" is false; we always had the ballot and free Election, you deprived us of them for thirty years. Of the "free Press" we always had as much as the Italians; and the freedom of our Press would have grown with theirs, had it not been reserved for British Protection to hold the most enlightened community of Greece, possessing an University, to say nothing of an Assembly, without a single Newspaper for twenty-eight years, and without even a printing Press among 270,000 people, with the exception of one kept only for Government purposes. This, of course, was, to use the exquisite flunkeyism of your ministerial defender, that you might not risk "hearing what the servants' hall thinks (or thinks fit to say) concerning the mistress's drawing-room." This, and the gay flourish of the "subject race," I would only notice to point out to your Excellency, that when you use, to a people of ancient race, of acknowledged valour and independent spirit, military measures so strong, so cruel, and so arbitrary as those employed under your authority and direct personal superintendence, against the Cephalonians, it is ungenerous that such taunts should be allowed to be employed against them, also, as an additional injury, by your ignorant emissaries and the official defenders of your policy. I feel myself called upon emphatically to remonstrate against this method of dealing with my countrymen. Your power enables you to crush and repress us, but no force shall avail you to ridicule my countrymen unresented. Old as

I am, I remember the pulse of their young blood too well not to know that insult may sting them on to any act, however desperate.

I have the honour to be, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

G. D. P.

Erectheum Club, St. James's Squars,

Jan. 13, 1851.

*To the Right Honourable Sir Henry Ward, Her Majesty's
Lord High Commissioner.*

SIR,—In adopting into your Address to the Ionian Assembly the words of Earl Grey's Despatch—wherein his Lordship decries the discussion of Constitutional changes as obstructing the consideration of those practical measures which are the ultimate object of such alterations—your Excellency appears to wish it to be implied that, as the Ionian Constitution had been perfected by the late reforms, all consideration of new plans for further changes in that Constitution, whether on the part of the Assembly, the People, or the Press, must be to a certain extent idle and unnecessary, if not positively factious and dangerous. Such, indeed, is the opinion I have not unfrequently heard expressed in this country; it becomes, therefore, my duty to show that a continuous exertion on the part of the

Ionians for the consolidation of their Institutions on a thoroughly liberal basis, is to the highest degree necessary; nay more, that it is urgently called for, as the only possible means of remedying and preventing the grievances they have been made to endure for the last thirty years, and under which they are still labouring.

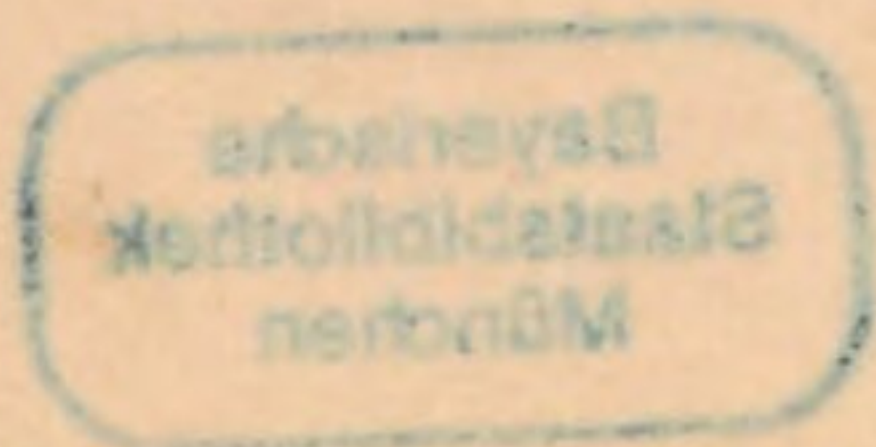
The axiom, that a second political change is not desirable, can only apply when the first has been perfect and complete; or when, as in your own Reform Bill, a further expansion and freedom of working has been added to a system already liberal in its main parts, and having liberal intentions. It is not so with our Ionian Constitution. That is a mass of incoherent and incongruous parts, each liberal intention having a secret catch or spring directly and purposely obstructive of the tendency with which it is apparently working. The fabric, as a whole, is a *chef-d'œuvre* of absurdity. The Reforms introduced into it in 1848, so far from being a new Constitution, are, though in themselves very partial, new elements which can never harmonise with the edifice of those absurdly ridiculous, as well as tyrannical, arrangements of the Constitution of 1817, still remaining in all their essential points. To wish to maintain a state of things so unnatural would be to desire to keep up a state of disorder; a state of dispute and oppression; a condition of things so anomalous, that we vainly look for its parallel in modern or in ancient history, unless, perhaps, it may be in some of those new Constitutions that have been recently thrown out from the



Colonial-office, and are repudiated with one unanimous outcry by every British Possession in three quarters of the globe. Reason and experience, as your Excellency is well aware, already demonstrate that those franchises which have been accorded to us can produce no beneficial result for the people, so long as they are mixed up with the oppressive and absurd institutions that still exist. The practical ameliorations which would seem to be the object of Earl Grey's anxious wishes, and which occupy four-fifths of your Excellency's late speech, can never be carried out under such a monstrous complexity of liberality with despotism. Such practical ameliorations can only be obtained from Institutions that are consistently Liberal, or, to say the least, consistent with reason.

Thus, then, with Liberty of the Press, with freedom of Election, with the acknowledged right of our Assembly to regulate the expenses of the State, and vote and refuse the supplies,—in the face of your Excellency's observations, strengthened by the authority of Earl Grey,—I am, as an Ionian, compelled to come before the English public with the complaint that my countrymen are not in the enjoyment of their just rights and liberties.

The truth is, as your Excellency knows well from your late experience, the whole of the Ionian Constitution is in practice a farce and "a sham." When our freely-elected Members are assembled together, their session is one of three months out of twenty-four—those three months again being broken up into as many short intervals, or fractions of days



and weeks, as can be conveniently made out of two years. Their powers of legislating are futile, because the standing Senate and the Lord High Commissioner can, during their long vacations, pass provisional Laws without them, and these they must approve when they meet. As for the voting the supplies and examining the finances—there is a counter Article in the Constitution, which, according to the recent interpretation of your Excellency, empowers the Senate, first, to propose a Budget, which the Assembly must discuss; secondly, to make up what deficiencies in salaries and allowances, &c., the Assembly may have caused, if the Senate consider the curtailment injudicious; and, finally, should the Assembly decline to pass the Budget proposed to them, the Senate have the power of regulating the expenses of the State on the prorogation of the Assembly which follows their dissent, as a matter of course, according to the former Budget!

But your Excellency is a “great financier”—you are “a practical man.” We were told to expect not only great retrenchments, but great Reforms, in our finance; great improvement in our condition; great development of our resources, as some compensation for the grievous cruelties which your “firmness and decision of character” had inflicted upon us in Cephalonia. Let us see how you begin this good work: I have your speech before me as the authorized public document on the subject.

It is notorious in the records of Ionian Finance, that the expenses of the States are regulated according to the grandeur of the Protecting Country, not

the smallness of the community protected ; and the salaries by the wishes of those receiving them, rather than the necessities of those paying them ; that, while there are too many of the Ionian youth without employment or occupation, a crowd of foreign *employés* are paid, from the Ionian treasury, salaries such as they would have no hope of obtaining in their own country—some for promenading on the Esplanade, other for signing their names to papers, or making pleasure excursions from one Island to the other, or, it may be, for giving instruction in matters in which they rather want instruction themselves.

The figures of Ionian Finance, which I have on former occasions published in this country, tell a story, the moral of whose argument is apparent to all. When one whole third of the revenue was absorbed by the Protecting Government and its officers, and more than another third by the Civil List, on which British functionaries most largely figure, it is no wonder that debt, if not distress, should have been the consequence. Nor can we feel surprise at finding, that on the occurrence of a calamity such as lately afflicted Cephalonia, the Ionian Government, with Great Britain at its back, was without a shilling in its coffers wherewith to aid the sufferers. So that for the first fortnight of that awful visitation all was misery, terror, desolation, destitution, and starvation.

Such a condition of things was worthy the reparative talents of so great a Financier as your Excellency. But more than this, the Ionian Finances

require not so much the practical knowledge of a tinker as the genius of a reconstructor. We have before us, not simply the question of how little money the business of the State can be worked upon, nor how the money is to be expended, when wrung from the poor people, but how this money can be drawn from the resources of the Ionians with the least possible individual suffering and detriment; how it is possible to divide the burthen of taxation with greater equity, so as to fall with equal weight on all classes of society.

At present, agriculture in the Ionian Islands bears the greater burden of taxation. The tax on oil and currants—a fifth, *ad valorem*—and the tax on all imported provisions, and chiefly on bread, which the peasantry pay, constitute two-thirds of the revenue. But capital—the great commercial tyrant and oppressor of these poor people—the usurer, the monopoliser, and the buyer-up of their yet unsown harvests,—the Bank—the commercial establishments, which enjoy to the full extent the greater guarantee and security of the Protection—though contributing nothing towards its expenses, absolutely pay no taxes, inasmuch as the other third of the revenue is made up from the consumers.

Here, indeed, was scope for your Excellency's ability. Here the genius of the practical Statesman might have found ample room in relieving the poor hard-working peasant, and calling upon the extortioner to disgorge a portion of his prey as his fair quota towards the public service. This was the task of an Economist—the duty of a Reformer. This was

“practical” enough, surely; and had in itself sufficient of the elements of “the popular,” without involving “the dangerous,” “the factious,” or “the revolutionary.” But your Excellency avoided all this part of the subject. It is yours to give the “moral lesson,” and to spend the money. It is ours to listen, to be silent, and to pay.

But as regards the reduction of expenses. To what source did you look for a remedy? To the Senate! To that very body who had accumulated expense upon expense, office upon office, salary upon salary, pension upon pension, at the beck and call of every successive Lord High Commissioner; who never remonstrated; who never checked; who never kept account, or made a reckoning; who gave all that was asked, and took all that was given, until at last—when the State went staggering headlong into the vortex of insolvency—they were themselves gorged with salaries, and allowances, and perquisites, to the extent of 400 dollars a-month—salaries so avowedly monstrous, that the Assembly wished to reduce them to 120 dollars, and they, the Senators, have proposed to receive 140. The Assembly of 1850 was prorogued in haste to prevent them getting up a Budget in which they suggested the cutting down all salaries, and then your Excellency received with a fever of approbation in July last a proposed Budget from the Senate, in which they boldly chopped off half of the excess of expenditure over income, at once. How? By stopping, on the instant, all roads, improvements, and

public works! Anything rather than touch the blessed pensions and the holy salaries!

With this Budget, then, your Excellency makes your first great start as a financier in the Ionian Islands; and, chuckling over your godchild, you introduce it to the Assembly, with an assurance that it is their absolute right and sole privilege to discuss it, modify it, settle it, refuse it, and vote the supplies, as they might best think fit. With this important Constitutional privilege you assured them, in very fine Constitutional language, that you could not interfere. Poor innocents! the Assembly believed you. But no sooner had they settled the preliminaries and set to work briskly in the eight short days you had given them for so important an object—no sooner had they suggested that as Article 33, sec. 3, chap. 3, gave the Assembly the power to make the Budget—they were inclined to propose one for themselves, and would wish for further time, than down came a Message with Articles 14, 15, sec. 3, chap. 2, as an answer, declaring that, because the Senate had a right to give their assent to the Budget when voted by the Assembly, therefore the Senate had the right of proposing the Budget, and to the Assembly was left that of discussing it!

Hereupon the Assembly, after a little grumbling, began to look at the clock of the session, for well they knew that if no Budget were passed, the Senate, according to Articles 10 and 16, sec. 3, chap. 2, would carry on the system upon the former monstrous Budget. Thus forewarned, they deter-

mined to proceed ; but when they came to propose a reduction in the expenses of the establishment of the Senate, down came a Message from the “angry Fathers,” informing the rude advocates of retrenchment that Articles 8 and 12, sec. 3, chap. 2, said the Senate must not be interfered with, and that, as they had introduced the Budget, their consent, by Art. 29, sec. 3, chap. 3, was requisite to the amendment ; and down, also, at the same time, came another Message from your Excellency to the staggered Assembly, to tell them that all those salaries of the Civil List and British functionaries, all those “extraordinary expenses” which Art. 34, sec. 3, chap. 3, told them they were to control, and which they were vainly endeavouring to curtail within the proportions of possible payment, were protected from any such impertinent prunings, as being sheltered by the special Acts of Parliament which established them, and, therefore, placed them beyond the power of the Assembly’s revision !!

The terrified Assembly recoiled from their task. It was on a Sunday—for they worked night and day to get through a business so imperative and so important. They considered and reflected, and finally remonstrated,—to be immediately prorogued by the Message for that purpose, which your Excellency’s Secretary carried in his pocket. A pretext for this arbitrary and apparently sudden proceeding was afforded by the attempt of a Cephalonian Representative to bring forward a repudiated motion for a union with Greece—something similar to that annually brought on by

Mr. John O'Connell for the repeal of the union between Great Britain and Ireland, but which has not yet afforded my Lord John Russell a pretext for proroguing or dissolving the British Parliament.

Thus ended your Excellency's first Financial campaign in the Ionian Islands. The great practical result obtained is, that your Excellency can now go on just as Sir Howard Douglas did before you; that you can manage the Ionian Finances *à discretion*; that you can pay whom you like any salary you please, and, as the English poet says,

Like Cato, give your little Senate Laws,
And sit attentive to your own applause.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient
Servant,

AN IONIAN.

Erechtheum Club, St. James's Square,

Feb. 10, 1851.

*Sir George Henry Ward in 1849 an Imitator of the Arbitrary
Acts of Sir Howard Douglas in 1840.*

“ Cette Charte est une nombreuse collection de Sectiones, des Chapitres, et d'Articles, dont la substance peut se réduire aux termes suivants :

“ Le Lord Haut Commissaire gouverne les Etats-Unis Ioniens ‘ Absolument et sans être responsable ’ ni à la Puissance Protectrice qu'il représente, ni au Peuple Protégé du sort duquel il décide.

“Son Gouvernement est absolu, parceque nulle forme Constitutionnelle, hors de la dépendance du Lord Haut Commissaire, ne met des bornes à son Autorité. Il n'est point responsable au Peuple Protégé, parceque les Fonctionnaires publics, que devraient être les dépositaires et les garans de ses intérêts et de ses droits, sont des agents choisis, payés, et révocables par le Lord Haut Commissaire.”—*Count Capo D'Istrias to Lord Bathurst*, 19th Dec. 1819.

To the Editor of the Daily News.

SIR,—I have read with much pleasure your leading article of Wednesday, the 14th inst., in which you so ably, and in so truthful a manner, set forth the anomalies of the Ionian Constitution, and the injustice done to the Ionian people; and I observe, with infinite satisfaction, from the correspondence which has been addressed to yourself, the *Times*, and other Papers, that the attention of public men in this country has been at last awakened to the unmitigated despotism exercised in the Ionian States, under the title of British Protection.

I can, therefore, without further comment, leave to the animadversion of a pending discussion in the ensuing Session of Parliament, the late flagrant outrages of absolute authority in Cephalonia, and address myself, concisely, to the new violation of all Constitutional Right and Personal Liberty which Sir G. H. Ward has ventured upon in Corfu—that of imprisoning peaceable citizens, and seizing their papers, without charge or accusation, or form of trial.

Well has it been observed by the Count Capo d'Istrias, in his Official Correspondence with Lord Bathurst, thirty years since, respecting the Ionian

Constitution :—“ This Charter is a collection of numerous Sections, Chapters, and Articles; the whole of which may be summed up in the following : ‘ The Lord High Commissioner governs the Ionian States absolutely, and without being responsible either to the Protecting Power whose Representative he is, or to the Protected People of whose fate he is the arbiter. His Government is *absolute*, since there is no Constitutional form to restrain his authority, which is not dependent on himself. He is not responsible to the Protected People, since every public functionary, who should be the depository and the guarantee of its interests and its rights, is the agent, chosen, paid, and revocable, by the Lord High Commissioner.’ ”

Vlacco, the ringleader of the Cephalonian rioters, having been tried and punished for murder, and *not for treason*, the assumed importance of that lamentable outbreak has totally fallen to the ground ; and the baffled intriguers, who have their game to make of the terrors of a new Lord High Commissioner, have been compelled to resort to the now thrice stale trick of an alleged conspiracy.

A conspiracy in the Ionian Islands ! Ridiculous ! Cripplegate against England ! And for what purpose ? Count Capo d'Istrias tells us that in his time every Ionian in opposition was said to be a partizan of Russia ! The Chevalier Mustoxidi, speaking of a similar charge as applied to Greece, tells Lord Normanby, in his Memorial of August, 1839, printed in Parliamentary Papers, No. 401, page 18, par. 129, as follows :—

“If some citizens, moved by patriotism, appeal to the remembrance of their former rights, and demand that their Laws, such as they are, may be respected, or, in their desire for some amelioration, endeavour to procure by legal means some alleviation for private and public evils, they are represented as visionaries, demagogues, ambitious men, or intriguers. It is said that their complaints are excited, not by the sufferings of the people, but by the bribery of Foreign ambition, to which they have sold themselves ! Such are the vile and infamous calumnies uttered against citizens who but the other day were respectable and respected. Presidents of the Senate during two Parliaments, Senators, Regents, Archonts of Public Instruction, Members of the Assembly, Knights, Commanders, Grand Crosses, all are now become at once men of dangerous intentions, whose insanity alone can excuse their ingratitude ! Shame !

“There is not in the Ionian Islands a heart that does not prefer British Protection to any other political condition ; but every one has sense enough to distinguish between Britain and her Representative.

“It is not here necessary to make a display of sympathy and gratitude ; for even, reducing the question to a mere computation of interest (that mightiest and perhaps only bond by which nations are united), the Ionians are only desirous to govern themselves in a manner more consistent with their original dignity, with their intelligence, and their rights, and perceive that they cannot obtain such a blessing except from a Nation whose Institutions are an example and pledge for a better future for every other Nation, and consequently, ought particularly to be so to that Nation which is under her own peculiar Protection. The urgent necessity to participate in such Institutions is sufficient to keep them far removed from any other influence, should even a Foreign Power be desirous of exercising it over them, and both should be so blinded as not to perceive that these islands will belong to the Ruler of the Seas as long as she shall wish it.

“With respect to Greece, we shall say, a common origin, language, religion, and nationality unite the Ionians to her. They pray for the welfare of that country, as they have contributed, by their sacrifices and efforts, to her regeneration. But they

know how to value their own peculiar interests, nor can ever these moral and economical interests be better reconciled together than by combining with a National Government perpetual peace and security. The Grecian papers are not forges of insubordination and intrigues, but asylums in which Ionian thought, always persecuted and crushed at home, has sought a refuge. Greece has, in the eyes of the Ionian Government, or rather in those of the Lord High Commissioner, no other crime than the Liberty of the Press; but this aid was not spontaneously offered to the Ionians; on the contrary, they solicited it with many entreaties; nor was it obtained without obstacle, difficulty, and expense: and this will soon become the crime of the English Press; for as long as one Ionian citizen shall have any feeling of honour and Patriotism, he will not cease to expose the sufferings of his unfortunate country, and then it will be seen whether they dare to proscribe the English Papers, or whether these also will be accused of being bribed by Russian gold, or deceived by the intrigues of the puny kingdom of Greece."

These words of wisdom and truth, addressed to the British Minister ten years since, apply exactly at the present time, and will, I have no doubt, should the present system continue, be equally applicable at a future epoch. I can remember three similar conspiracies at similar intervals—the first of which I witnessed—in 1817, under Sir Thomas Maitland—when the Isle was frightened from its propriety by a sudden mustering of troops and the array of loaded cannon, with the arrest of many quiet citizens, all to put down a conspiracy which was, when too late, found to have been the concoction of a certain Corsican cut-throat (whose name I now forget, save that it ended in *ardy*, and a *hardy* villain he was), at the head of the Police, who, in conjunction with a youth of eighteen—a clever

adept in forging the names of the principal men of the Island—got up an alarm of their intention to murder the Lord High Commissioner, and assassinate the British troops. This matter ended in a general ridicule, and the exile of the boy, who had been promised great emoluments by the Corsican scoundrel who was kept in office. Our next conspiracy was when Sir Howard Douglas found it a convenient way to put down an opposition in the Legislative Assembly, by pretending to believe that there was in the Islands a Russian party, and a society “Phil-orthodox” and revolutionary. They were publicly denounced, both of them, in the *Government Gazette*, and by official Proclamations. After which, seals were put upon the papers of citizens alike distinguished and peaceable, such as the brothers Capo d’Istrias, whose chief offence it was that they bore one of the most illustrious diplomatic names of Europe, and the Chevalier Mustoxidi, whose only crime was his distinguished literary name, and his being the head of the Legal and Constitutional opposition in the Assembly. Sir Howard discovered in this instance just what Sir Thomas did in 1817—that he was wrong. He took off the seals and made excuses, but carefully avoided giving that public and solemn satisfaction which was justly due from him to the injured parties, and which they did not fail to demand, though in vain, from the British Minister.

Such have hitherto been the Ionian conspiracies ! But, I ask you, Sir, is it not disgraceful to the name of Great Britain, that so odious an exercise of

power as this of the High Police (that is, the power of doing just as he pleases by means of the executive authority, without being called to account for it) should be vested in the hands of the Lord High Commissioner? Is it to be tolerated that, in the middle of the night, in the midst of the most perfect security, without even the slightest probable show of apprehended disorder,—is it, I say, to be endured, that individuals should be dragged from their beds and consigned to prison; that their papers—their family secrets—should be placed, without any of the formalities usual in such cases, at the mercy of the Agents of the Police or any other individuals; that all these things should take place in a country pacific in the extreme, and perfectly tranquil, as is Corfu; in a country ruled by Laws that provide for all circumstances, by Laws which punish illegal arrests, and guarantee, by regulations the most explicit, and by salutary forms, the personal liberty and dwellings of the citizens? Is it, I say, credible that all this should take place under the Protection of a Nation, “the eldest daughter of modern Liberty?” Well may the Ionian Press repeat those questions, and well may the most eminent of the Ionian citizens declare their intention, if such powers continue to be exercised by successive British Lord High Commissioners, to quit for ever their native land

————— Phocœorum

Velut profugit execrata civitas,

leaving their desolate Islands a monument of British

Protection, more intolerable than the despotism of the Venetians or the tyranny of the Turks.

I confess that I have little hope for the future but in the Commission for Inquiry so ably recommended by Lord Charles FitzRoy. If the British Parliament will grant us that, it will soon be seen whether the complaints of the Ionians during thirty years have been groundless, and whether the enormous sums which our heavily-taxed Islands have paid for the British Protection (one item alone of which is £800,000 for fortresses for British purposes, as may be seen in the report of the evidence of the Ordnance Committee just published) have been in any way repaid to us, either by Protection to our citizens and our commerce in foreign parts, or by good Government at home.

I have the honour to be your obedient Servant,

AN IONIAN.

Erechtheum Club, St James's Square,

Nov. 17, 1849.

[THE following letter has been addressed to Earl Grey privately, and is now published to show the absurdity of any Ionian citizen petitioning. No Ionian is permitted even to communicate with the Colonial Minister but through Sir H. Ward. Those that have dared to complain of him, and sent their complaints to him, as their incongruous Constitution prescribes, have been either banished shortly after or persecuted in different other ways. The absurdity of this system of petitioning is great, and the mischief it produces incalculable. It tends to encourage any

Lord High Commissioner of Sir H. Ward's propensities to commit acts of tyranny, and all sorts of illegalities, with impunity, knowing that no one dare complain without his knowledge, and that no complaint will be listened to by the Minister when once sent through his hands.

Lord Grey on this occasion actually returned to the writer the Memorandum mentioned in the letter, and it was sent back to Corfu to the gentleman who wrote it, from whom nothing has since been heard, nor has any answer been returned to the letter sent to him enclosing his papers.]

To the Right Honourable Earl Grey, &c. &c.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to acknowledge a communication from Mr. B. Hawes, dated 30th of November, in reply to an application of Mr. Demetrius Zervò, which I enclosed to Lord J. Russell on the 15th of the same month. Mr. Hawes informs me that, “as Mr. Demetrius Zervò has adopted so irregular a mode of making his application, Lord Grey finds it impossible to entertain it, until it is preferred through Her Majesty’s Lord High Commissioner, in conformity with the established rules of this office.”

The fault, if there be any, of the irregularity such as it is, is due to me, not to Mr. Zervò; and I have to regret that this visitation of a three months’ delay, between the sending his papers back to Corfu, and their return thence in the prescribed process through the Lord High Commissioner, should be inflicted on this gentleman in consequence of a mistaken idea on my part, *that to find the most direct way of placing papers in the hands of the personage*

whom they were intended ultimately to reach, was the most correct method of acting !

Had I conceived the Memorandum sent to me by Mr. Zervò to be a "Petition," a "Representation," or a "Memorial," I should have known that the course I had adopted was irregular ; for I am, as an Ionian, too well informed that we are constrained by Sir Thomas Maitland's Constitution, to forward all Petitions for redress through the hands of the person (the Lord High Commissioner) of whom for the most part they complain, and who invariably appends to each Petition a comment, which forms a note of the reply that the Colonial Office are to make to it. Whence it has happened, that until your Lordship came into office, there was no example of an answer to an Ionian Petition, which took a different view of the subject matter from that taken by the Lord High Commissioner. In this instance, however, Mr. Zervò has neither made a complaint, nor presented a Petition, but he has simply preferred a request for a copy of a certain paper, having reference to himself individually, and necessary to the completion of a history which it appears he is writing.

This paper related moreover to an incident of ten years' standing,—to a Lord High Commissioner long since retired ; and the granting him that copy was an act of justice, due to him as an individual, seeking to know from what authority certain animadversions had emanated, to which he attributed the withholding from him of the merited honours of a long life spent in the public service. The words

(Chap. 7, Art. 8, Sect. 7) of the Ionian Constitution sufficiently define, my Lord, what communications from Ionians must be sent through the Lord High Commissioner, and I cannot suppose that any liberal Minister would wish to stretch them beyond limits already sufficiently comprehensive.

“Article VIII.—The right of Representation and Petition, whether in bodies, or by the individuals, to the Protecting Sovereign, or his Ministers, shall be granted in the fullest manner to the Ionian people; but the Petition of individuals must be addressed to His Majesty’s Secretary of State, and that of bodies of public functionaries may be directed to His Majesty, through the means of his Secretary of State, provided always such Representation or Petition (of whatever nature it may be) shall be transmitted through the medium of his Excellency the Lord High Commissioner of the Protecting Sovereign, and a correct copy of the same be sent to him at the time such Representation, Memorial, or Petition shall be transmitted.”

On the construction of this Article I am prepared, my Lord, to contend, that the present application of Mr. Zervò is an exception to the ordinary rule of the Colonial Office, in regard to communications from Ionians. Indeed, it might just as well be argued that, in my own case, I was to be precluded from addressing your Lordship, or any other of Her Majesty’s Ministers, unless through the medium of the Lord High Commissioner, who is 1,000 miles distant, because, although thirty years in England, I must still be considered an Ionian.

I trust, therefore, that your Lordship will be induced to reconsider the request of Mr. Zervò, and prevent the perverse obstruction of this needless,

and I may be pardoned for observing, almost ludicrous delay of an intervening voyage to the Ionian Islands and back, by directing an answer to be forwarded to Mr. Zervò's application, which is now actually in your Lordship's office.

I am the more inclined to claim your Lordship's grave consideration for the request of Mr. Zervò, from the fact of its being the first attempt to break down that hideous system of secret accusations, which, during the administration of Sir Howard Douglas, rendered the Colonial Office to the Ionians, what the Lion of St. Mark was to the Venetians, a place where every charge, every slander, every crimination might be dropped in, without the opportunity of publicity or redress being afforded to the accused. That such things were, my Lord, and that they excited a very just and natural indignation in the sufferers, a sufficient proof will be afforded in the accompanying letter* I felt myself called upon, nine years since, publicly to address to Sir Howard Douglas on the subject; and although no other *amende honorable* has been made to the many honourable men calumniated by that Lord High Commissioner, than the recent observations of Sir H. Ward in his Despatch of the 9th of July, 1849 [when speaking of Count Roma, who, he says, "under the administration of Sir H. Douglas, was an object of so much suspicion, that his house was actually searched by the Police, under the idea of discovering proofs there of treasonable designs. But treason at that time was synonymous with a

* See Appendix C.

desire for certain changes in the Constitution of 1817,—changes which fall infinitely short of those which Her Majesty's Representative has since prepared," &c.], and the conferring of eminent public offices on the Chevalier Mustoxidi;—yet my Lord, I have the satisfaction of being enabled to furnish your Lordship with a sufficient precedent in the Colonial Office, to warrant your Lordship in assisting an individual in arriving at the truth of suggestions made secretly to his prejudice, and to rectify the error of such secret information having been acted upon. This precedent, my Lord, occurs in Tory times, and at the hand of Lord Bathurst, who, referring to a pretended conspiracy during Sir Thomas Maitland's rule, in which many respectable and eminent citizens had been charged as being accomplices, thus wrote in a Despatch of April 21, 1817:—

“His Royal Highness cannot but deplore the wickedness of the individual who, by a long course of falsehood and perfidy, could without any apparent cause, involve in ruin various respectable families, together with persons immediately connected with him. His Royal Highness, however, is happy to find that the proofs of his perfidy have been so clear and so positive, as not to leave any doubt whatever in the mind of any one respecting the loyalty of the various distinguished individuals against whom his accusations were directed,” etc.

Had the various accusations of Sir H. Douglas been as accurately examined, they would have been found equally as false as those of the villanous Lepeniotti alluded to by Lord Bathurst; and now that one instance is brought under your Lordship's

special notice, I still trust, knowing the equity which characterizes your Lordship's policy, that no obstruction will be placed between the individual and the justice which he seeks, by too strict an adherence to regulations, not warranted by the terms of the Article 8 of the Constitution.

Should, however, the conclusion which your Lordship has come to, be unalterable, I may be permitted, in such a case, to request that the papers of Mr. Zervò be returned to me, that I may perform my duty to him by having them sent back, with an intimation of your Lordship's decision.

I have the honour to be your Lordship's most obedient servant,

G. D. P.

Abingdon Street, Westminster,

Dec. 2, 1850.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A.

FROM THE "TIMES," AUG. 16, 1852.

To the Editor.

"SIR,—I have just escaped, from a dreadful calamity—the more terrible because so excessively mysterious. I hardly know how to write the words; but, Sir, for the last five months I have been an 'Outlaw.'

"How I came so I scarcely know, except that in endeavouring to assist a friend I burnt my fingers, and went to a lawyer to have them cooled. This, after several payments at ruinous interests, resulted in a certain series of processes, the climax of which was something that, as I was told, bore the portentous title of 'execution!'

"The many friends who sympathized with me on such an occasion, and kindly gave me the benefit of their experience, advised me to what is technically called 'keep out of the way.' But, as I had no objection to pay, provided my respectful creditor would wait the arrival of my funds from abroad, and as, if he would not, I was quite willing to spend the intervening period between his impatience and my capability in that *Ultima Thule* of the law's revenge, 'a prison,' I continued to frequent all places of public resort, pay visits, and attend my club as usual.

"I wore a charmed life. My lawyer-creditor was rampantly objective to delay, but perseveringly reluctant to 'lock me up.' So far, so good; I thought him singular, but considerate, and reckoned that, as the lawyer had made all the costs he could, the 'friend' might be coming into operation. Vain delusion! I took up the *Globe* one evening at my club, and found myself declared an Outlaw.

"An Outlaw! What could it mean? You must know, Sir, that I am a foreigner, though thirty years resident in this country; and here was I, who had never injured any one, who

never once in those thirty years committed a breach of the peace, who never in my life entered a magistrate's office, publicly pronounced and placarded in the newspapers an Outlaw! Worse than all, I could get no information about my condition as such. To all my inquiries as to what it was to be an Outlaw no man could give me an exact reply. Every one agreed that it was something very dreadful. Some said I could be shot down by any one, like a dog in August under a lord mayor's proclamation, by a policeman. Another hinted that it was something between Robin Hood and a ward in Chancery. Some laughed, and recommended the immediate purchase of 'russet boots,' and a Forester's costume, with bow and arrows, a polished quiver, and horn and belt; and finally, a grave old friend of mine, an old gentleman of great experience, ruefully shook his head, as he piteously communicated to me with tears in his eyes the melancholy tidings, that I could no longer sue anybody, or bring an action in the courts of law; and, worse than all, that I could not be made a party to a suit in your chancery!

"Well, then, I was an Outlaw, and so I continued for five months; yet, I never left my residence; I ate, drank, and slept the same, received my change from cabmen, paid my bills, visited repeatedly my solicitors, and even indulged in the occasional contribution of a letter to the editor on political questions, giving my name and address; nor did I suffer other inconveniences during the whole period than the occasional jest of a friend, or the *monstrari digito* of here and there some *quidnunc* clubbist, who seemed to regard me as a savage running wild in the midst of civilization.

"Nevertheless, it gave me oftentimes an uncomfortable twinge to know that I was something that I ought not to be, though no one could tell me what that was, and to feel just the same as other people. One fine morning, however, the spell was broken by the rude presence of an officer and his myrmidons, who summoned me from my breakfast-table to a 'lock-up-house,' with its beds at 6s. a night, and other charges in proportion.

"Here, when the day of settlement and liberation at last arrived, the mystery was solved. The proceeding to 'Outlawry,' though producing no possible effect, enabled my lawyer friend to

add another large sum to his costs, by a process which, however excessively annoying to his victim friend, added no additional security to that originally obtained by him—namely, the ‘execution’ at enormous costs, which, with those of the Outlawry, added exactly one-fourth more to the original amount of my ‘friend’s’ acceptance.

“I don’t pretend to understand your laws, Sir,—that task has long ago been given up by men of all countries, even your own; yet, after all, as I am a foreigner, and have paid so dearly for it, I should feel deeply grateful to any of your readers, whether legalists or amateurs, who shall inform me what is the ‘meaning, cause, and effect,’ of being first made and then unmade

“AN OUTLAW.”

London, Aug. 14, 1852.

Several of the London journals noticed this letter, amongst others, Mr. Douglas Jerrold, writing in a weekly newspaper of the period, quoted it in full, wittily prefixing to it the following observations:—

“We give the following Letter from the *Times*. The ‘Outlaw’ writes as merrily as any Little John of the greensward: but truly it is an iniquitous system that enables any pettifogging lawyer to pander to the malignity of a cheat, and at the same time to fill his own purse, by proclaiming a debtor (with his name on a stamp) an Outlaw, while at the time the ‘Outlaw’ is really not out of his own street. Of course, costs are the cause of this. In a bill of Lord Brougham’s, unfortunately set aside the session before last, the evil would have been abolished; at present, however, it remains, with too many other blots, a disgrace to the law,” &c.

B.

Ionian reply to the TIMES’ Article on the Ionians, Sept. 17, 1849.

WE have hesitated a long time before we decided to reply to an article published in the *Times*, and which we find copied in

Galignani of the 18th of October last. There are charges which fall at once before the evidence of facts, as there are insults and calumnies which, from their grossness and the stolid hatred suggesting them, are utterly unworthy of notice, and which a journal having self-respect would not defile itself by reviving. Yes, there are bounds which even the most hostile and violent Press ought not to transgress. There are falsehoods which an honest journal would shrink from repeating, and would refuse to take upon itself the responsibility of their propagation. But prudence has its limits. It has also its duties; and we feel it incumbent on us to set to one of the veterans of the English Press an example of prudence, by not reproducing his article in our columns. We will reply to it nevertheless; and however feeble, however despised our voice may be, the European Press will echo our protest against the shameless calumnies that have been unscrupulously disseminated through all the countries in which, through the instrumentality of a journal circulating by thousands, our adversary has given wide publicity to his libel.

We will not stay to remark on the levity and imprudence with which this journal has opened its columns to a statement representing in the darkest colours, and under the most unfavourable aspect, a people whose fate, during the last thirty-five years, has been at the entire disposal of the Representatives of England. We will not fully explain how impolitic, how fatal to its moral influence it is for a great Nation to heap insult and the most revolting calumnies upon a people under its Protection,—a people whose education it has directed, to whom it speaks day by day of reciprocal confidence, of good faith, of a new compact of alliance, of love, and of a cordial intention to repair the evils of the past, to heal bleeding wounds, and to fix upon a solid basis the prosperity of a people who aspire only to the exercise of their natural liberties, of recognised rights made sacred by European Treaties,—a people who meet kindness half way, and are disposed to regard as a favour a justice done or a debt paid to them. We will not say, in short, how cruel and despicable it is to insult the oppressed, in order to find an excuse for oppression; to make calumny the justification of actual or designed ill-usage, and to stigmatize as rooted vice or natural defect that which, if true,

would only be the work of their very Protectors. We do not know who has written or suggested this article. We will not repeat the thousand reports which circulate on this subject ; we attribute it neither to the journal that has published it, nor to the party representing that journal, and still less to the English nation at large or its Government. But whoever the cowardly writer may be who thus shelters himself by the concealment of his name, and sharpens his weapon to pierce the heart of a whole people,—in the name of God and humanity, and before the enlightened and impartial tribunal of public opinion in Europe, we brand him as a calumniator.

“We took under our ægis,” says the *Times*, “a people who combined Italian crime with Greek cunning ; who were strangers to private honesty or public virtue ; who were remarkable for strong passions, dark superstition, ignorance, and laziness ; who had been bandied about from Italian to Turk, and Turk to Russian ; but who, in every fortune and under every Government, preserved the taint of corruption which the policy of Venice had instilled, and the despotism of the Porte encouraged. To this people, aliens by birth, religion, and manners,—subtle as *Orientals*, and corrupt as *Italians*,—we gave the outline of a Constitutional Government.

“A free press in Corfu and Cephalonia was very like what it would have been in Connaught under Cromwell, or what it would be among the Lazzaroni of Naples in our own day. It was given to a people who had never known freedom of opinion or expression ; who had been disciplined by corruption, coercion, and fear ; whose religion was superstition, whose sentiments were undisguised passions, and whose only law was the stiletto.

“A people whose upper classes have been parasites and whose lower classes thieves and pirates for 500 years—to whom assassination was an every-day occurrence—who knew no law but Lynch law—cannot be expected to make the purest politicians all of a sudden, even when blessed with such a curious patchwork of a Constitution as we presented to them. We don’t mean to assert that there are no political grievances in these islands. It would be strange if there were not.”

We will repress the disgust this revolting article excites in us,

and we will say boldly, that it is not true that assassinations are amongst us of daily occurrence, and that our only law is that of the dagger ! We know no other dagger than that of our slanderers, of the calumniators who hide themselves, the better to direct their blows. Was there ever—we will not say a European people—a civilized and Christian people, was there ever a tribe of African savages, who presented such a combination of vice and infamy as is attributed to us ? Is there a people whose likeness can be recognised in the picture which the English journal has drawn of the inhabitants of the Seven Islands ? Have we done anything more for a long time past than to suffer, and occasionally to raise a complaint, which, oftener than not, has been cruelly disregarded ? Have we need to cite the sympathy expressed for us by some illustrious Englishmen who dwelt for a long time amongst us, who saw with pain the injustice heaped upon us, who loved us because they knew us, and whom we have always regarded with respect and love ? How is it, that almost all the English, of whatever rank, who quit our islands, go away with hearts full of pity and eyes wet with tears ? Need we refer to the Earl of Guilford, Sir Frederick Adam, Lord Nugent, Lord C. FitzRoy, and to Lord Seaton, who more correctly than any other person has pointed out the true causes of our sufferings, who has acknowledged that the obstacles to a good administration do not originate in us, who has spared no pains to remedy the evil, and has left us regretting his inability to accomplish that good which, we doubt not, he with hearty sincerity desired ? How is it that almost all the English regiments fraternize with our people ; a people always affectionate towards those who show them even a little regard and sympathy ? Are the relations of cordial amity forgotten which existed between the Highlanders and our common people ? Is it forgotten that on the occasion of the embarkation of a regiment of Rifles, two or three years ago, the people spontaneously erected triumphal arches in every street through which it had to pass, and that the Civic Troop took leave of them with enthusiastic acclamations and demonstrations of the liveliest cordiality ? Yes, we assert without fear of contradiction, that those unprejudiced Englishmen who have been able to observe us closely, who have lived amongst us, who have

appreciated the goodness of our nature and the intellectual and moral aptitude which God has bestowed on us, of which a bad Government has prevented the development, all those of the English who are honest at heart, sensible, and superior to the sordid calculations of selfishness, will bitterly regret that such an article should have soiled the pages of the first journal in England. They will regret that an English hand should have penned lines which will remain a lasting disgrace alike to the person who wrote them and the journal which adopted them.

To those who know us, we need not defend ourselves. To those not acquainted with us, but who permit themselves to judge of us from hearsay, from a merely superficial examination, and the loose remarks of some dull tourist, we say, Look at the map, and search history: open a biographical dictionary, and turn to the lives of our illustrious fellow-countrymen, who have ever distinguished themselves in literature, in science, diplomacy, and arms. Even the narrations of your own travellers will show that our civilization is not a thing of yesterday. You will learn that we are neither cannibals nor a half-barbarous people. A more intimate knowledge of our past history will convince you that we are not imbruted by the Turkish yoke, which had never lain heavy upon us, not debased by the Russian knout, nor by the poison of Venetian corruptness. The Russians protected us with kindness, as history attests; the French always sympathized with us: the Venetians were not so tyrannical as has been represented, nor was their despotism so artfully and systematically debasing as that which is repudiated by the recent promises of Reform. Nay, whoever our slanderers may be, the English Government itself gives them the most solemn contradiction. Freedom of the Press, trial by Jury, Free Election of Representatives, and the control of public expenditure are not trusted to a people without private honesty or public virtue, and who have no other law than that of the dagger. So far from maintaining that we have no faults, we say that every people has faults, and that ours are in a great measure but the unavoidable result of the fatal system of Government which some individuals nevertheless strive to perpetuate amongst us. We assert that a people who for a long period have been in-

capable of self-Government, of consulting their own welfare, and developing their natural faculties, are more excusable, more deserving of indulgence, than those who have moved unfettered in the path of their destiny, without other yoke to submit to than the needful laws which affect equally nation and individuals, and without other obstacles than the impassable limits which nature puts to the efforts of man. But (and great and happy people should never forget this) there is no happiness without alloy, and no greatness not liable to decay. Riches, especially, when not the produce of territorial resources, disappear sometimes with sudden rapidity: commerce, for want of encouragement, withers at its source, and material prosperity vanishes. But works of national genius endure: these are for ever the honour and glory of succeeding generations; none but acts of justice and generosity live in the approving memory of men, or have value in the judgment of history. Although we are a little people, our appeal is not to the generosity of others. It is our right—a sacred and recognised right, which we claim through the legitimate instrumentality of discussion and the Press. Were we even unworthy of what is accorded us by Treaties, which Treaties, however, seem to be forgotten, it could not be rightfully refused us. When we demand a free Government, it is not just to reply to us;—We undertake to govern you, that you may not be brought under the sway of Russia, or fall into the Anarchy which has entailed so much suffering on your brethren. When we ask a Government national, economical, rational, worthy of the age in which we live, and of our own Nationality, which, however some may despise it, is nevertheless destined to live and to shine in spite of its enemies and its slanderers, it is not right to reply to us by calumny, by insult, by the most palpable contradictions, by the grossest, most hateful, and most ridiculous falsehoods. If England, as it is said, cannot renounce these Islands in favour of another Power, or dispose of us as a troop of slaves, neither has she herself the right to keep us in slavery, or to deprive us of Political liberties guaranteed by a European Treaty. Let this Treaty be loyally acted upon; let the obligations it imposes on the Protection be fulfilled without evasion, and we shall not fail in the complete performance of the obliga-

tions resting upon us. The public opinion of Europe will one day judge between this Protection and ourselves, and will award the meed of its respect where it may be deserved. Why should we stand before this supreme tribunal, each as the exasperated and irreconcilable adversary of the other?—*Patris*, November, 1849.

[It may be curious to note that this Article was written by Dr. Braila, then the *collaborateur* of Dr. Zambelli in the editing of the *Patris*, but now the chief supporter and right-hand man of Sir H. Ward in his measures against the very Press of which Dr. Braila at one time himself formed the chief ornament, whose true mission he vindicated, and of whose great power he himself, as President of the Assembly, is now the exemplar.]

C.

Extract of a Letter addressed to Lieut.-General Sir Howard Douglas, Bart., M.P., late Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, calling upon him to withdraw from the Archives of the Colonial Office his Despatch, dated the 10th of April, 1840, as a Document essentially Inconsiderate, Erroneous, and Libellous to the Ionian Nation and its best Citizens.

SIR,—Allow me to congratulate you on your being returned a Member of Parliament for the second commercial city of England. If to be an officer of “high rank and distinguished services,” be in itself sufficient qualification for the duties of a Member of Parliament, then indeed may the electors of Liverpool be proud of having returned you as their Representative; for not alone has this been declared of you, but, Sir, you have recently enjoyed the still higher dignity of representing, not merely a portion of your countrymen in the House of Commons, but the Majesty of Mighty England herself. You have been

the Representative of British Freedom, British Policy, British Power and will, to aid in the advance and development of liberal Institutions in every nation under her sway or Protection. As Lord High Commissioner of the Queen of England, you presided over a People, few indeed in numbers, but characterized by talent, acumen, and energy; and who, without reference to their heroic or historic times, can show, within the last century, a longer catalogue of eminent men, in proportion to the population of their country, than any other nation in Europe, or indeed all the rest of Europe together. Yes, Sir, the Ionian Islands, which hardly equal in population a single parish in London, have produced a long and noted series of Divines, Philosophers, Statesmen, Orators, Warriors, Professors, &c.; nor will it be irrelevant to my present purpose to mention a few of them; such as *Mignati*, *Theotoky*, *Bulgari*, *Eugenious*, learned divines, preachers, and distinguished writers; *Bondioli*, *Delladecima*, *Carburi*, *Pieri*, *Foscolo*, Professors of the first Universities of Italy and elsewhere; another *Carburi*, a great architect, who transported to St. Petersburg the granite rock on which stands the statue of Peter the Great; *Lusi*, a General in Prussia, and Ambassador in England; *Loverdo*, a General and Peer of France; *Corafà*, Viceroy of Sicily; *Ierachi*, Viceroy of Siam; *Mocenigo*, *Bulgari*, *Franzini*, Ministers of State in Europe; *Capodistrias*, Secretary of State in Russia, Plenipotentiary of that Power in the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, and President of Greece; and there are many others of great merit, though, perhaps, of less renown, the enumeration of whose names would fill many pages.

Over this People, intrusted to the Protection of the Queen of England by a solemn European Treaty, you have, as the Representative of British Majesty, held unrestricted sway for more than six years; and it is this People, Sir, whom, in your Despatch of 10th April, 1840, when they had for five years been subjected to the influence of your Government, and had been for twenty-five years under British Protection, you declare to be "uneducated, fanatical, and superstitious," their enlightened Clergy "ignorant and bigoted," the whole nation "semi-barbarous, and unprepared to receive the Institutions promised to them by

that Solemn Treaty." You represent them "as unfit for a Press, even with moderate restrictions, and to be incapable of investigating or regulating the accounts and expenditure of their own Finances." And, more than all this, you stigmatize them "as factious, corrupt, and enemies to the British Protection!"

Many eminent Ionians, amongst whom are Count Capodistrias, Dr. Plessa, Mr. Petrizzopulo, &c., have expressed their indignation at this libel on their country, in several pamphlets published in London, and elsewhere; but one of the most distinguished among them, one of the first Scholars and most talented men of his age,—a man not of Greek or Ionian, but of European reputation, the Chevalier Andrea Mustoxidi, has charged me now with the distribution, amongst some of the most eminent men in London, of a pamphlet written by him in reply to the said Despatch of the 10th April, 1840, and in defence of his country.

Though I do not find your name in the list for distribution, I should consider it a want of courtesy on my part not to forward you a copy of the work, as your name figures in almost every page, and your statements in that Despatch are, without a single exception, completely contradicted and refuted. I feel it therefore incumbent on me to forward you a copy, and I embrace the opportunity to convey to you a suggestion, to which I request your most serious attention.

The production in the House of Commons of the above-mentioned Despatch, together with the Memorial of the Chevalier Mustoxidi, took place in June, 1840, and in April of the following Session, a Committee of Inquiry was demanded by the friends of the Ionians, to examine into the truth of the statements of that Despatch. Through the influence, however, of your friends and supporters in the House, and the unwillingness of Lord John Russell himself to doubt the correctness of an official document, his Lordship joined your friends, and the Committee was refused. Truth, however, has a vitality and vigour not to be subdued or repressed by factious opposition; neither can the devices of art for ever withstand the persevering constancy of its attacks. The triumph of truth was delayed for a while by the rejection of the motion of Lord Charles FitzRoy for a Com-

mittee of Inquiry—but only for a while; for the Chevalier Mustoxidi has now supplied, by his individual and patriotic exertions, the direct and complete refutation of the statements in your forenamed Despatch, which must have resulted from the Parliamentary inquiry, had it been granted. In the pamphlet which I now send you, you will find that the Chevalier Mustoxidi has taken up your Despatch paragraph by paragraph, passage by passage, statement by statement, has calmly and clearly demonstrated their total want of foundation, and has passed upon it the sentence which would inevitably have been pronounced, had its merits been tried, as was proposed, by a Committee of your own countrymen.

Mr. Mustoxidi's pamphlet is certainly of great length (260 pages, including the Appendix); but, as he has justly observed to me, "a false assertion may be contained in three lines, while to disprove it may require three hundred." It should also be remarked that his refutations are written with dignified calmness and urbane diction. You will find, Sir, in his pamphlet, no personalities or abuse, no attack on private character, no imaginary charges; but on the contrary, all his assertions are established by absolute proofs, or confirmed by irrefragable documents. Of the tone of feeling with which he writes, the following brief passages, extracted from page 176, where he is personally concerned, will serve as an illustration, showing at the same time the striking contrast which exists between his pamphlet and the Despatch to which it is a reply.

In page 25 of your Despatch, at the 6th paragraph, you declare it to be your conviction that the Memorial of the Chevalier Mustoxidi was framed by the Agents of the pretended Philorthodox Society. Now, that Memorial was written by the Chevalier in Albemarle Street, in London, and I therefore can testify that he was the sole *framer* of it. I saw him write it, and I assisted in the translation, the original Italian draught of which has since remained in my possession. To the charge then contained in the above paragraph, the venerable man exclaims:—

"At these words my mind was seized with a shudder of just indignation: but not on this account will I write with unrestrained pen; and to the hatred which has thus perturbed both

the mind and heart of Sir Howard, I will reply with the calm serenity of truth."

And your allegation in page 44, paragraph 2, that *he organized a Society*, he thus with true dignity repudiates:—

"What does Sir Howard mean by the words *organized Society*? What but a body of men combined and leagued together for a definite purpose condemned by the laws? Now I declare in the presence of God and the world, that in my whole life not only did I never organize, but I never belonged to any society, public or private, of whatever denomination, political or religious—however legitimate, however sacred. I defy Sir Howard Douglas to disprove this declaration; and failing in this, his edifice lacks its foundation-stone, and inevitably falls to the ground."

These two passages will suffice to dispel any alarm that may have arisen in your mind, lest you should find yourself attacked by violent invective; and I am so assured that my anticipations of the effect that will be produced on the minds of all—yourself included—who peruse the Chevalier's pamphlet, are fully justified, and will be realized, that I here at once, in my own and my country's name, suggest to you, that the only honourable course open to you, the only amends you can now make to my vilified and libelled countrymen, the only method by which you can avoid the stigma which will assuredly brand your memory if this pamphlet be translated into English, and circulated amongst your countrymen, your only honourable course will be to use your opportunity as a Member of the House of Commons, and let your first business in it be to move, yourself, *For a withdrawal of your Despatch, dated 10th April, 1840, from the archives of the Colonial Office, as a document written in a moment of excitement without due consideration, and under a misapprehension of circumstances.* To a man of honourable mind and noble spirit, there can be no degradation in the acknowledgment that he has been misled, and such a man will embrace with eagerness an opportunity of wiping out so grievous, so grossly unjust, and so comprehensive a vilification of the character, talents, and habits of a high-minded people like the Ionians, as is contained in your Despatch of the above-named date. And no man with any

sense of justice, or feeling of generosity, will hesitate a moment to recant and withdraw any utterly groundless aspersions he may have cast upon the character of a universally venerated individual such as the Chevalier Mustoxidi, when once he has arrived at such a conviction of his error, as must be produced in you by the perusal of his pamphlet. * * * *

G. D. P.

Colonial Club, St. James's Square,

London, February 19, 1842.

[Sir Howard Douglas replied to the above letter by returning the Pamphlet, and declaring that he would have no further communication or correspondence on the SUBJECT. On receipt of such an additional insult put upon the Chevalier, I printed and circulated the letter with the following note appended:—]

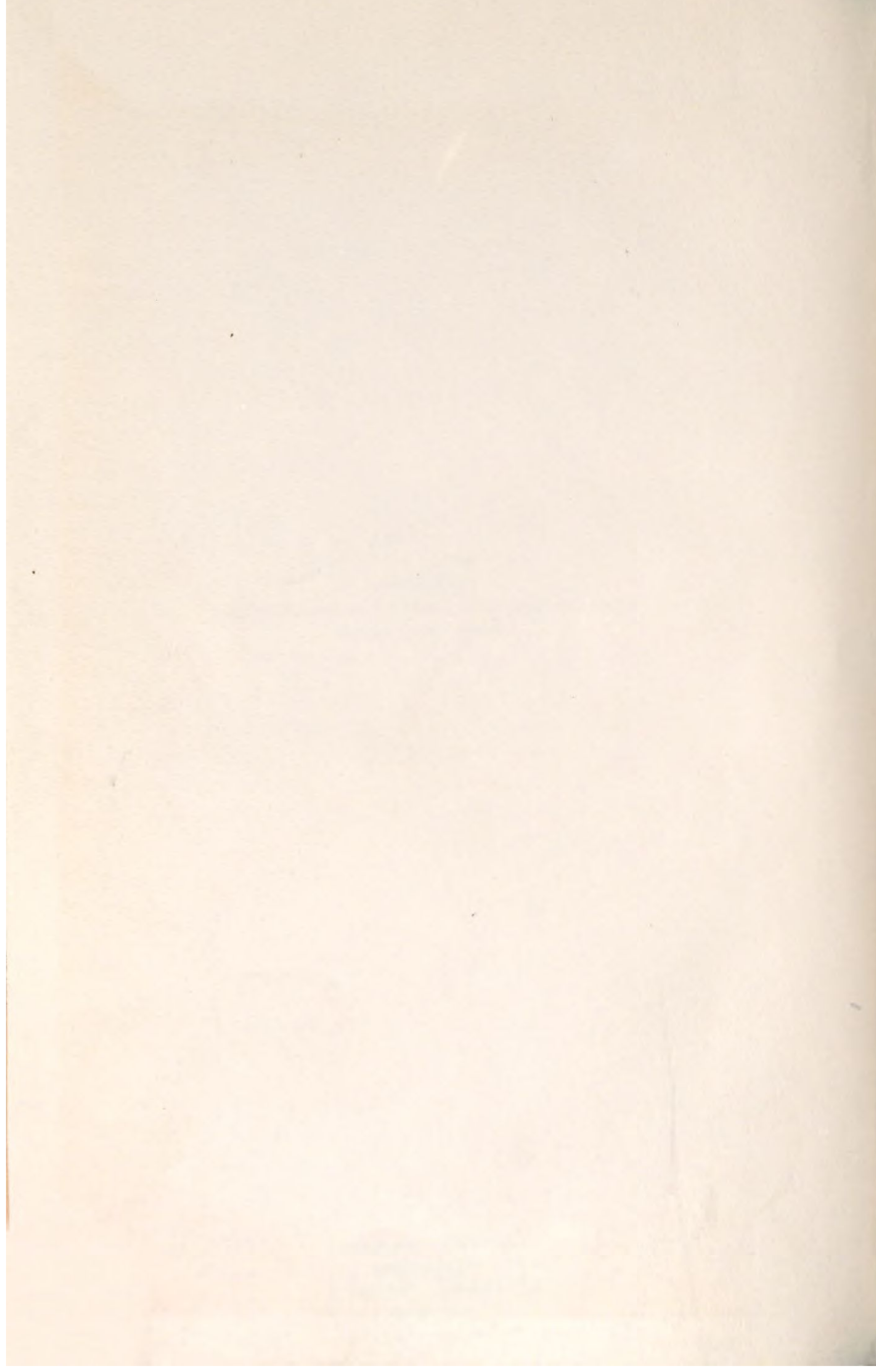
“That Sir Howard Douglas has a right to decline all correspondence or communication ON THE SUBJECT I freely admit;—I admit also, that the SUBJECT itself may be unpleasant to moot at all, and that the appeal in my letter may, under present circumstances, be inconvenient to listen to. But why return the Pamphlet of M. Mustoxidi? By such uncourteous answer, Sir Howard may suppose that he has relieved himself of all further trouble on the subject, which called forth that Pamphlet. He has, however, by this conduct, compelled me to spread more widely the knowledge of the wrongs done by him to the whole Ionian people. By the return of the Pamphlet, he has driven me to an appeal from himself to his colleagues in the British Parliament, who, however they may be inclined to advocate those principles in which Sir Howard professes to have conducted his Government, would be far from giving countenance to the tyrannical and arbitrary means by which he carried out his administration. Dilapidation of the State's finances, as proved by an uncontradicted article in the *Morning Chronicle*, of the 11th of February, 1841, and by many writers, amongst whom is Count Capodistrias; dissolution of an Assembly characterized by talent, patriotism, and independence, and the substitution of another, most of the members of which had no pretence to such attributes, but whose preponderating virtue was submissive obedience to the

will which created them legislators ;—wholesale calumnies, persecutions, arbitrary imprisonments, domiciliary visits, banishments without trial, denial of a free press, interference in the religious observances of the people, never before attempted, not even under Latin intolerance, during the time of the Venetians ; the subsequent hostility to the Greek Patriarch, unfortunately too successful ; the encouragement given to Missionaries to spread their doctrines among the people, which had for its result the late fatal collision between the mob and the soldiers ; the treating of a free people like Helots, and others measures of a similar nature, are not so congenial to the English character as to admit of their being tolerated or passed over in silence, if once brought under the notice of the British Parliament. After this, Sir Howard Douglas may get up in his place, and talk of the happiness he has conferred on the Ionian people ; but he may be assured, that there will rise up from that Parliament of which he is now a Member, some generous champions, to demand from him an account of his administration in those Islands ; an administration which has rendered the British name unpopular through the Levant, and almost annihilated that affection which had always subsisted between the Ionian people and their Protectors. As to myself, I shall keep my promise, not to rest until I have obtained a full reparation of his injustice to my friend and my country. Already, the Pamphlet rejected by Sir Howard Douglas has been received and acknowledged by several of the most eminent Statesmen of this country ; nor am I without hopes, from the full light of truth now thrown by this Pamphlet on the doings of Sir Howard, that if a Committee of Inquiry were again asked for, all, even those gentlemen who opposed it last year, would now, as honourable men, setting aside political and personal predilections or prejudices, in deference to the great cause of truth, accede to the demand, from a sense of the justice due to the calumniated Ionian people."

G. D. P.

PRINTED BY
COX (BROTHERS) AND WYMAN, GREAT QUEEN STREET,
LINCOLN'S-INN FIELDS.





Papanikolas, Geōrgios Drakatos

Usque adeo? or, what may be said for the Ionian people being letters addressed to Lord John Russell, Earl Grey, Sir John Pakington, and Sir Henry Ward, during the administration of the latter gentleman in the Ionian Islands

London 1853

H.gr. 1408 h

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10447193-7